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# EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE ANCIENT HINDUS.

BY

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"प्रथम प्रभात उद्य तद गगने,
प्रथम सामरद तद तपीदने,
प्रथम प्रचारित तद दन भदने,
बाने धर्मी कत काव्य काहिनी।"

-रबीन्द्र नाथ।

Thine the skies where dawned the first bright morn, The hermitage thine where the earliest Samans were sung, Thine, too, the forests where first went forth sublime, Knowledge, Religion—Store of Lore Divine!

-Rabindranath.

# Dedicated by kind permission

TO

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA
SUPRADIPTA MANYABARA SIR BHIM SHUM SHERE
JUNG BAHADUR RANA K.C.S.I.,
K.C.V.O., HONORARY MAJORGENERAL: BRITISH ARMY,
HONORARY COLONEL:
FOURTH GURKHAS,
PRIME MINISTER AND SUPREME COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF,
NEPAL.

# PREFACE.

In this work an attempt has been made to furnish a comprehensive account of the Educational System of the Ancient Hindus. The difficulties of a work of this kind are considerable in India, specially in Nepal, where up to date libraries are few and far between and the verification of the references proportionately laborious and difficult. Moreover, in a secluded country like Nepal it is difficult to obtain co-operation and guidance in research from others and so the present work was conducted independently by the author from start to finish. Nevertheless, the author begs to acknowledge the invaluable help and guidance he has received from the researches of many savants, specially from those of Rev. F. E. Keay and Professors S. V. Venkateswara, Radhakumud Mukerji and Nagendra Nath Mazumdar who are the pioneers in this particular branch of Indology.

Ever since the author began this work he as a Hindu servant in the Education Department of a Hindu state like Nepal, cherished the desire that his work on the Educational System of the Ancient Hindus should, in the fitness of things, be dedicated to its Hindu ruler. therefore, begs to acknowledge his heart-felt gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja Supradipta Manyabara Sir Bhim Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana K. C. S. I., K. C. V. O., Honorary Major-General, British Army, Honorary Colonel, Fourth Gurkhas, Prime Minister and Supreme Commander-in-chief. Nepal, for kind permission to dedicate the work to His Highness. The author is no less indebted to His Excellency Supradipta Manyabara Sir Kaiser Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana, K.B.E., General, Nepal Army, without whose princely help in the shape of books it would have been well nigh impossible for him to complete the present work. The author also takes this opportunity of expressing his heart-felt gratitude to His Excellency General Hiranya Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana for kind encouragement and sympathy which it is alike his pleasure and daty to gratefully acknowledge.

Tri-Chandra College Nepal The 5th August, 1930.

Santosh Kumar Das,

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# THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE ANCIENT HINDUS.

#### CHAPTER I.

#### THE FACTORS IN ANCIENT INDIAN EDUCATION.

In the infancy of humanity education was quite unconscious. trying to get food, shelter and safety man originally learnt to observe Nature, to use it to his ends and to save himself from its destructive Thus in addition to the inborn instincts, which he had in common with other animals, he brought into play his own special powers physical and mental. Experience was the next means of training. The younger generation learnt from the elders what was wholesome and what was harmful, how to enjoy pleasures and to keep away from pain. The arts of cutting, hunting, building and defending contributed to the development of human intellect, the observation of the striking phenomena in Nature laid the foundation of man's ideas of worship and religion and both increased his knowledge of the physical world. The inventions of fire and language were also great steps in the advancement of his worldly welfare, of a settled life and of his idea of social relations. Man learnt to rise above his brutal instincts first in the family under the power of the patriarch, later in the village under the rule of the headman and again in the society under the bonds of customs and laws. This was the beginning of conscious education.

# § 1—THE ETHNIC FACTOR.

But this conscious education is not a physical science. Its aim and organisation have always been determined by man according to his ideals and convenience. Hence in order to understand properly the nature of Education in Ancient India we shall have to consider on the one hand the original nature of the people who lived there and on the other, the character of the environment in which their inherited capacities were called into active development. But the people who lived in Ancient

India did not belong to one race but to many. At different times, waves of different people reached India and left their mark on society to a more or less lasting degree. Anthropological enquiries have revealed that four main types of races had come and lived in Ancient India, viz., Dravidian, Aryan, Scythian and Mongolian. The four main types are not to be traced as distinct from one another but there has been a fusion of them all on a large scale. But it is the Aryans who have carried the lion's share in controlling the destiny of the country.

Anthropologists scarcely need be reminded that humanity is not a democracy but a hierarchy, ascending in successive gradation from the lowest Negroid to the highest Caucasian type, from the man of muscle to the man of mind, from the creature of appetite to the being of thought; and the grandest problem yet awaiting solution is the due relegation of each great family to its proper place in the ethnic scale. Of the relative place of the Negro, the Turanian and the Caucasian, there can be no doubt; the order of these primary divisions may be regarded as settled. But when we come to their minute sub-divisions, specially those of the last, opinions differ, a satisfactory indication that our data are insufficient or that our principles are unsettled. We all admit that the Foulah and the Kaffir are superior to the Negro of the coast of Guinea; nor do we deny that the Turcoman and the Finn stand higher in the ethnic scale than the Samoyede and the Lapp. And perhaps, one reason why we see all this so clearly is, that we are outside these races, so that we have no feelings of jealousy to disturb our perception and warp our judgment. But it is otherwise with our own more exalted type. Here the rival claims of Semite and Aryan, of Greek, Roman, Teuton and Colt afford a never-ending subject of controversy in which it is to be feared passion and prejudice have but too often supplied the place of fact and argument.

The speculation, however, which regards humanity as the collective or grand man is not, perhaps, altogether fanciful or ungrounded. It, at all events, has the recommendation of comprehensiveness and enables us the more readily to arrange subordinate topics as parts of a large whole. Thus contemplated, then, we may say that the Negroid races represent the

vascular, the Turanian the muscular, the Caucasian the nervous portion of the mundane structure. Were we inclined to enlarge our comparison by taking in a wider and, therefore, more diversified range of vitality, we would say that the Negro represents the vegetative, the Turanian the animal and the Caucasian the more purely human attributes of this collective organism. We shall not, perhaps, greatly err, if we speak of these great types as successive stages of advancement from alimentation and reproduction to respiration and cerebration.

The Indo-Aryans, therefore, who belonged to this Caucasian type were remarkable for their manly virtues and strength of intellect. Hence it is no wonder that "whatever sphere of the human mind you may select for your special study, whether it be language, or religion, or mythology, or philosophy, whether it be laws or customs, primitive art or primitive science, everywhere you have to go to India, whether you like it or not, because some of the most valuable and instructive materials in the history of man are treasured up in India and in India only".1

Let none however imagine that the non-Aryans have contributed nothing of value to Indian life. Contact with them made Hindu civilisation varied in aspect and deeper in spirit. The Dravidian was no theologian but expert in imagination, music and construction. He excelled in the fine arts. The pure spiritual knowledge of the Aryans mingling with the Dravidian's emotional nature and power of æsthetic creation formed a marvellous compound which was neither Aryan nor non-Aryan but Hindu. Thus the spiritual and moral ideals of Ancient Indian Education were essentially the product of the Aryan mind, while its vocational and æsthetic aspects were mainly inspired by the material and emotional nature of the Dravidians.

# § 2. THE GEOGRAPHICAL FACTOR.

After the Indo-Aryans had entered India their martial spirit was for a long time kept alive by the necessity of holding their own against the enemy. When this had been effected and the resistance of the non-Aryans was broken, there was left very little scope for the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> India: What can it teach us ?-Max Muller, p. 15.

development of the manly virtues. Henceforward they began to develop in their character a deep delight in the contemplation of the secrets of Nature and an enthusiastic devotion for subtle speculation. For. no country in the world displays such luxuriant productiveness, combining in the north, the natural phenomena of all the Zones from the eternal ice and scanty vegetation of the glacier world to the exhuberant undergrowth and majestic palms of the tropics. Under the glaring tropical Sun, the moist soil becomes fertile beyond imagination, producing for man, in lavish abundance, all that he needs for life. But it also subdues the mind with the overwhelming force of its fecundity. It could not have been otherwise than that the exhuberance of tropical Nature should have captivated the mind of man, stirring up his imagination, filling it with brilliant pictures and fostering in him a love of contemplation and luxurious ease. Indeed, the rich soil and the genial climate bringing the means of subsistence within easy reach made the struggle for existence an easy one and left men sufficiently at leisure to develop the various arts of civilisation. Thus while in Europe long cold winter, barren soil and conflict of interests between small countries have developed in the Aryans there 'the instinct of self-preservation' to the highest pitch and have made them comparatively more 'active', 'combative' and 'enterprising', the peculiar geographical conditions of India have tended to make her people more 'passive', 'meditative' and 'philosophical'. The absence of any keen struggle for existence has enabled the people to maintain at the head of their society a thinking class that made light of worldly concerns and devoted themselves almost wholly to philosophical contemplation. Hence owing to differences in the geographical conditions of the two countries the people in them though they originally belonged to the same stock and possessed similar virtues, now present such marked distinctions in the development of their character. The different geographical conditions of the two countries have not only affected their nature but have also influenced their institutions, their sciences, arts and literature. Thus while in Europe the various institutions, arts and sciences have been developed more or less to meet the material needs of the people and to enable them to hold their own in their political and economic relations, in India they had had their origin in the 'exigencies of religion'. Moreover, the lofty mountains

and seas that shut the country off from the world outside not only rendered the Indian civilisation at once original and unique in character but also allowed time to the Hindu institutions, educational or otherwise, to become deep-rooted and in a great measure able to withstand the modifying influence of later invaders.

# § 3. THE SOCIAL FACTOR.

Coming to the social environment we find that the most characteristic feature of the Hindu society is its caste system. It is a matter of common knowledge that in the Rigvedic age the caste system was not well developed, if indeed, it existed at all. Each man was a priest, a warrior and a husbandman. But even then some families obtained pre-eminence by their special knowlegde of the ways of performing religious sacrifices and their gift of composing hymns; others again excelled in military prowess. In course of time to keep pace with the growing needs and complexity of society differentiation became a necessity. Hence the Indo-Arvans like Plato, made an intelligent application of the principle of division of labour and became gradually divided into four castes according to their occupation and innate qualities. The ancient Hindus looked upon society as an organic whole and each member in the beginning picked up that branch of human activity which was suited to his innate qualities; and afterwards his descendants followed the same, because on the strength of heredity they were best fitted for it. Experimental Psychology tells us that a long and continuous line of impressions goes to produce a high degree of efficiency in any branch of science or in any field of industry. Hence though the study of the Vedas was enjoined on all Aryans, yet as appears from the following śloka the respective occupation of each and the corresponding training were held to have been far more important :-

> "Sreyan swadharmo bigunah paradharmat swanustitat Swabhabaniyatam karma kurban napnoti kilbisam."

"One's own duty though defective, is better than another's duty well performed. Performing the duty prescribed by nature one does not incur sin." (Gītā, XVIII. 47) Herbert Spencer speaks in the same strain. "It is" says he, "a trite remark that, having the choicest tools, an unskilled artisan

will botch his work; and bad teachers will fail even with the best methods. Indeed, the goodness of the method becomes in such a case a cause of failure; as, to continue the simile, the perfection of the tool becomes in undisciplined hands a source of imperfection in results." Hence we have in the Gītā<sup>3</sup> the warning:

"Śreyan swadharmo biguṇaḥ paradharmat swanuṣtitat Swadharme nidhanaṃ śreyaḥ paradharmo bhayabahaḥ."

"One's own duty, though defective, is better than another's duty well performed. Death in (performing) one's own duty is preferable; the (performing of the) duty of others is dangerous."

Again, though our philosophers warned us against changing our duties for those of a better class, yet the Platonic ideal did not remain unrealised and no inseparable barrier was set up between the orders. "If one brahmin by birth behaves like a śūdra, he can be desinated as a śūdra and if one, śūdra by birth, lives the regulated life of a brahmin, he can be designated as a brahmin." Indeed, as the following ślokas will show, if a child of the inferior class possessed qualities characteristic of a superior class, he was admitted to that class:—

"Śrinu yaksha kulam tata na swadhyayo na cha śrutam Karanam hi dwijatwe cha brittameba na samśayah".

"O honoured Yaksha, hear (me), doubtless the actions alone and not lineage, perusal of sacred books and Vedic learning are the determinants of brahminhood."

"Śūdre cha yadbhabellakṣhma dwije taccha na bidyate Na bai śūdro bhabechchhūdro brahmaṇo na cha brahmaṇaḥ Yattṛaitallakśhte Sarpa bṛittyaṃ sa brahmaṇah smṛitaḥ. Yattrai tanna bhabet Sarpa tam śūdramiti nirdiśhet."

"What is noticed in a śūdra does not exist in a brahmin. A śūdra is not necessarily a śūdra nor a brahmin, a brahmin. Sharpa, only he is

<sup>5</sup> III. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Education—Spencer, p. 83.

<sup>4</sup> Mahabharata, Banaparba, 189th Adhyaya.

Mahābhārata, Banaparba, 311th Adhyāya.

called a brahmin, in whom such (characteristics of a brahmin) actions are found and O Sharpa, where these are lacking one should designate him a sūdra."

"Yasya yallikhitam proktam pumso varnābhibyānjakam Yadanyatrāpi drishyet tat tenaiba binirddishet."

"If in an individual there appears worth other than that characteristic of his class he should be designated accordingly."

Thus in agreement with the tendency of the modern world, there was in ancient India sufficient scope for the development of one's own individuality. In fact, by the system of caste alone was self-realisation made compatible with social service. Thus, it may well be said that even in those early times the Indo-Aryans saw that, for social efficiency, the individual should be allowed to develop along the lines of his greatest power. From this there follows the pedagogical principle that it is the function of education to determine the line of the greatest power of each individual and then to prepare him for service in that direction. This is the formulation of the ancient Indian ideal of a liberal education.

In fact, in ancient times the greatest care was taken to discover the aptitute and fitness (adhikāra) of an individual to receive any particular kind of education. The śūdras were, in general, denied the study of the Vedas only because they had neither the tradition nor the aptitude for acquiring the language and spirit of the Vedic literature. Indeed it is bad policy to spend time and energy in making an 'indifferent' priest out of a citizen who could have become an 'excellent' soldier or an 'expert' craftsman. The teachers then thoroughly realised that disastrous results were sure to ensue if knowledge were to be imparted without any consideration of what suited one's tastes and ways of doing things. Thus we have—

"Vidyayā sārdham mriyeta na vidyā muṣare bapet."

"Better die with learning rather than plant it in a barren soil."

<sup>•</sup> Mahabharata, Banaparba, 179th Adhyaya.

<sup>7</sup> Srimadbhägavat, Canto VII. Ch. XI.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Chāndogya Brāhmapa.

"Vedante paramam gujhyam purākalpe prachoditam Nāpraśāntāya dātabyam nāputrāyāśiṣyāya bā punaḥ."

"The highest mystery in the Vedanta, delivered in a former age, should not be given to one whose passions have not been subdued, not even to the son or disciple, if he is unworthy." 9

#### Also-

"Let no man preach this most secret doctrine to any one who is not his son or his pupil or who is not of a serene mind. To him alone who is devoted to his teacher and endowed with all necessary qualities, may be communicate it." 10

"Vidyā brāhmaṇametyāha śchadhistcsmi rakṣha mām Asuyakāya māṇ mādāstathā syāṇ bīryabartamā."

"(The Goddess of) learning came to a brahmin and said: "Preserve me, I am thy highest treasure. Do not impart me to a malicious person, thereby my potency will be kept unimpugned."<sup>11</sup>

"Yameba tu suchim vidyā niyatam brahmachārinam Tasmai mām bruhi biprāya nidhipāyāpramādine."

"To him whom thou shalt know to be pure, perfectly continent and free from the follies of the world, to that brahmin shalt thou impart mc." 12

"Vidyayaiba samam kāmam martabyam brahmabādinā Ápadyāpi hi ghorāyām natwenāmirine bapet."

"Even in the absence of a means of livelihood, rather let a Vedic preceptor die with his knowledge than impart it to an unworthy recipient" 18

We similarly find the striking feature constantly recurring in the Upanishads that a teacher refuses to impart any instruction to a pupil until he proves to his satisfaction his competence, mental and moral, to receive the instruction, especially when that instruction is connected

<sup>•</sup> Svetāsvatara Upanishad, VI. 22.

<sup>10</sup> Maitrāyaņīya Brāhmaņa Upanishad, VI. 29.

<sup>11</sup> Manu II. 114.

<sup>12</sup> Manu II. 115.

<sup>13</sup> Manu II. 113.

with the highest truths of life. The typical instance of this kind of pupil is Nachiketas in the Kathopanishad approaching Yama for instruction on the nature of the soul and its destiny when Yama first satisfies himself as to his sincerity and zeal in the pursuit of truth by offering him the strongest temptation that might divert him from his end,-"sons and grandsons who shall live a hundred years, herds of cattle, elephants. gold and horses, sovereignity of the wide abode of the earth, fair maidens with their chariots and musical instruments and control over death." Nachiketas answers like a true sannyasin "Keep thou thy horses, keep dance and song for thyself. No man can be made happy by wealth." Then Yama ultimately is compelled to admit: "I believe Nachiketas to be one who desires knowledge, for even many pleasures did not tear him away." Indra deals similarly with Pratardana by asking him to choose a boon but Pratardana is wise enough to leave the choice to Indra. 14 King Janasruti Pautrayana similarly approaches Raikva for instruction with 600 cows, a necklace and a carriage with mules, whereupon Raikva answers: "Fie, necklace and carriage be thine, O Sūdra, together with the cows."15 Satyakama Jabala did not impart instruction to Upakośala Kamalayana even after his tending his fires for twelve years. 16 Pravahana approached by Aruni for instruction, says to him: "Stay with me for some."17 Similar is the treatment meted out by Prajāpati to Indra and Vairocana 18 and by Yājñabālkya to Janaka 10 and by Sakayanya to king Brhadratha. 20 All these cases but emphasise the pupil's own efforts along with those of his teacher as factors in education. The Upanishads21 require that the pupil before he is taught the highest knowledge should show that he is calm and unperturbed in

<sup>14</sup> Kaus, III. 1.

<sup>15</sup> Chāndogya IV. 2.

<sup>16</sup> Chandogya IV. 10. 2.

<sup>17</sup> Chandogya V. 3. 7; Brhad. VI. 2. 6.

<sup>18</sup> Chandogya VIII. 8. 4.

<sup>19</sup> Brhad. IV. 3. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Maitryā. I. 2.

<sup>21</sup> Bihad. IV. 4. 23 enumerates all the five attributes.

mind (śanta)<sup>28</sup> self-restrained (danta), self-denying (uparata),<sup>28</sup> patient (titikṣhu) and collected (samadita).<sup>24</sup> To these are sometimes added purity of food and as a consequence purity of nature (sattva-śuddhi);<sup>25</sup> the fulfilment of the vow of the head (śirobratam)<sup>26</sup> which indicates either the rite of carrying fire on the head or as Deussen suggests<sup>27</sup> the shaving of the head bare (as implied by the term muṇḍaka).<sup>28</sup>

# § 4. THE RELIGIOUS FACTOR.

But the most potent influence on Ancient Indian Education was that of the religious environment. The Indo-Aryans when they first settled in the Indus valley were deeply impressed with the most imposing manifestations of Nature. They picked up what was beautiful and striking in Nature. looked upon that as the governing force in their regions and tried to propitiate it by prayers for their own welfare. The sky, the atmosphere and the earth exhibited such attractive phenomena at different times that they sang out praises to them: from the first, the Sun received the greatest attention followed by the Dawn; from the second, Indra, Parjanya, Vayu and Rudra were offered frequent worship; and from the third, Agni, Soma, Varuna and Pushan carried the highest respect. They sometimes rose above this Nature-worship, caught a glimpse of the Head of all these deities and praised Him in stirring and sublime verses.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Katha. II. 24; Mundaka. I. 2. 13; Svet. VI. 22; Maitrā. VI. 29 and X. 22; Kaivalya. III. 4.

<sup>23</sup> Katha, II. 24.

<sup>24</sup> Katha, II. 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Chāndogya, VII. 26. 2; Mundaka, III. 2, 6; c. f. also Mahānārāyana.

<sup>26</sup> Mundaka. III. 2. 10-11.

<sup>27</sup> Philosophy of the Upanishads, p. 73.

For other passages proving the doctrine of Adhikārabād see Aitareya Āraņyaka III. 2 6.9 and V. 3. 3. 4; Chāndogya. III. 2. 5; Bṛhad. VI. 3. 12; Mahābhārata, Sāntiparba, 309th Adhyāya; Vasiṣṭha Chs. II and XIII; Viṣḥṇu XXIX. 7 and XXIX. 9 and XXIX. 10; Yājnābālkya I. 28; Hārīt I. 20; I. 21; Usanā III. 35-37; Atṛī I. 8; Gautama XII; Manu II. 16; II. 109; XI. 181; Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra Bk. VII. Ch. II. \$1, 55.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Rgveda I. 115; III. 61; VII. 75.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Rgveda II. 12; IV. 46; V. 83. etc.

<sup>\*1</sup> Rgveda I. 1; V. 26; VI. 53; VII. 86 etc.

<sup>82</sup> Rgveda X. 90, 121 etc.

making his appearance in the form of the Sun in the heavens, of the lightning in the atmosphere and of fire on the earth was soon considered to be the mouth or representative of all the gods. While sharpening a stone into some weapon men originally saw sparks and then found out how to produce fire, or a conflagration due to friction (caused by roaring winds) of branches of Aruni was observed clearing forests, burning down various animals, melting ores, and he got the idea of keeping fire, of using it for cooking and of offering oblations to it. In this way probably they marked the usefulness of the various phenomena in Nature and out of cheerful simplicity made them objects of their worship. Fire was to be kept up by every householder, oblations offered to it and hymns sung in its praise. In the morning and evening, prayers were also said by the river-side to the Sun as it rose and set. Thus even in the Rgveda sacrifice appears to be the centre of all religious activities, though its elaborate development and varied classification was the work of the second stage of the development of Indo-Aryan religion. There are hundreds of allusions to the materials and performances of sacrifices and the designations of priests at them in all the mandalas of the Rgveda, which it is not necessary here to quote. 88

Each of the Vedic poets was probably the family priest at the court of some chieftain or nobleman who wanted to propitiate the gods for prosperity and success by sacrifice with his help. Each poet handed down his own hymns to his descendants some of whom probably made additions to the original composition. Each mandala of the Reveda was thus a family collection, handed down from generation to generation and no doubt guarded jealously as a family inheritance. Later on, a sort of competition probably arose among such priestly families to possess the best hymns and led to the formation of a dignified and expressive literary dialect.

As the influence of the priests increased the ritual of the sacrifice became more complex. The technical lore of language and of hymns was taught by the poet-priest to his sons or nephews and this was no doubt the beginning of Ancient Hindu Education. In course of time probably due to

<sup>\*\*</sup> Mahārāṣtriya Dnyānakoṣa, Part II. pp. 359-371.

the action of some powerful chieftain who wished to gather for his own benefit all the sacrificial literature, these family collections of hymns came to be amalgamated and taught together.

There were three functions which the priest might perform in the ritual and to those who performed them different names were given. 'hotri' was the leading priest who while the sacrifice was being made recited hymns of praise in honour of the particular god he was worshipping (Indra, Agni, etc). And then part of the ritual was done by 'udgatri' whose duty was to sing the samans or hymns in praise of the Soma plant hypostatised and regarded as a god. Another priest was concerned with the manual acts of sacrificing and he was called an 'adhvaryu'. There was, at first, however, no distinct order and each priest might perform any of these functions. There was but one education for all, and each priestly student received a triple training so that he might perform any one of these three duties. Gradually, however, the ritual of the sacrifices became elaborated, and with its growing complexity some division of priestly labour became unavoidable. No one priest could become an expert in the three branches of the ritual and specialist training became necessary. Probably at first it consisted in a priestly student first learning the ritual of all the three branches and then specialising in one of them. The collection of Soma hymns into the nineth book of the Rgveda seems to show traces of this. But eventually something more than this was needed and there came to be three orders of priests, each possessing its own particular Veda and having its own training schools.

All the hymns to be chanted at the Soma sacrifice were gathered into a separate collection called the Samaveda. All its verses except seventy-five were taken from the Rgveda and formed a special musical collection for the Soma ritual. It consists of two parts called archikas. The first archika consists of stanzas, each of which was associated with a separate tune, of which there were no less than 585. The second part, or uttararchika, contains the strophes which were required for use in the ritual. The udgatri had to learn to sing all the tunes required for the Soma ritual and to know which particular strophe was required for each sacrifice. The complicated work of the udgatri priest thus led to the creation of a special

school for those who wanted to specialise in this branch of study. At a later date tune books called ganas were prepared.

Although the recitation of the appropriate hymns of praise at the ordinary sacrifices was the special duty of the 'hotri' priest, the 'adhvaryu' who performed the manual acts of the sacrifice, was required to utter certain ritual formulas (yajūṃshi), and at different points of the ritual had also to utter certain prayers and praises. For the training of the 'adhvaryu' priests also, special schools arose, and their particular Veda was the Yajurveda. This collection consists of prose formulas or mantras, among which many verses, mostly taken from the Rgveda, are also interpolated. When these special schools were formed for the udgātri and adhvaryu priests, the older schools connected with the Rgveda came to be regarded as special schools for the hotri priests.

By the time these various types of priestly schools had been formed, the centre of the Aryan civilisation had shifted eastwards and lay somewhere between the Sutlez and the Jumna rivers. There came to be slight differences in the Vedic texts and each recension was called a śākhā. Those who followed a particular śākhā of a Veda were said to form a charaṇa or school of that Veda. At sometime, however, precautions were taken for the preservation of the sacred text, and this led to the constitution of the padapāṭha³6 and other forms of the sacred texts.

The different kinds of priestly schools had now become well developed, and were learned associations with a growing reputation and a priest was proud of the school in which he had received his training and he could not perform his duties as a priest without having passed through one of these schools. The first duty of the student was to learn by heart the particular Veda of his school. This he did by repeating after his teacher till perfect accuracy was obtained. He would also receive a great deal of instruction on his duties as a priest and also explanations of the hymns and ritual acts. The instruction was called 'viddhi' and the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Macdonell's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 171 ff.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

pp. 174 ff.

as Ibid.

p. 51.

explanation 'arthavāda.' For a long time these discourses were given orally by the teacher in his own language but in course of time in each school the didactic material contained in the text tended to follow precedent more and more and finally became stereotyped in the Brāhmaṇas.<sup>37</sup> These treatises written in prose were supposed to elucidate the texts and contained the speculation of generations of priests. A single discourse of this kind was called a Brāhmaṇa and later on all collections or digests of such discourses were called by the same name. Besides instruction and explanation relating to the sacrificial ritual, they contain mythological stories and legends, speculation and argument and we can find in them the first beginnings of grammar, astronomy, etymology, philosophy and law. Their intellectual activity was centred, however, on the sacrifice.

But though the Hindu education started out with the idea of the teacher passing on to the pupil the traditions he had himself received, yet even from the earliest times, the contents of the education must have begun to widen out. The sacrificial ritual itself gave birth to some of the sciences. The elaborate rules for the construction of altars led to the sciences of geometry and algebra being developed, and as it was sometimes desired to crect a round altar covering the same area as a square one, problems like squaring the circle had to be faced.38 The desire to find out propitious times and seasons for sacrifices and other purposes gave rise to astrology, from which astronomy doveloped. The dissection of sacrificial victims was the beginning of anatomy. The care taken to preserve the sacred text from corruption led to the development of grammar and philology, while the deep questions with regard to the universe and man's place in it, which were already being referred to in the samhitas of the Vedas and discussed more fully in the Aranyakas and Upanishads led to the formation of elaborate philosophical systems and the study of logic.

According to tradition, so there are six subjects "the study of which was necessary either for the reading, the understanding or the proper

<sup>37</sup> Macdonell's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 202.

<sup>38</sup> R. C. Dutt's Civilisation in Ancient India, pp. 93 ff.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Kautilya in his Arthesastra confirms this tradition, (R. Shamsastras Eng. Trans., p. 7.)

sacrificial employment of the Veda." These are called the Vedangas and comprise the following subjects:—Sikṣhā (or phonetics), Chhandas (or metre), Vyākaraṇa (or grammar), Nirukta (etymology or explanation of words), Jyotiṣha (or astronomy) and Kalpa (or ceremonial or religious practice). "The first two are considered necessary for reading the Veda, the two next for understanding it, and the last two for employing it at sacrifices." 40 From these, however, other subjects developed, as for example, the study of law from Kalpa. Thus the education of the ancient Hindus had its origin and development in sacrifice which occupied so prominent a place in the first and more specially in the second stage of the evolution of Vedic religion.

But in the next stage some impatience appears to have been felt with the elaborate rites and sacrifices which the thinking section of the people regarded as uscless. Hence the mind of the great rsis passed beyond the natural phenomena to the consideration of their cause and purpose:

"Kim kāraņam brahma kutah sma jātā jibāma kena kwa cha sampratisthāh

Adhisthitah kena sukhetaresu bartamahe brahmabido byabastham".

"Is Brahman the cause? Whence are we born? Whereby do we live and whither do we go? O, ye who know Brahman, (tell us) at whose command we abide, whether in pain or in pleasure." 41

The thought that was thus set up eulminated in the doctrine:

"Sarbam khalbidam brahma tajjalaniti santa upasita."

"All the universe indeed is Brahma; from Him does it proceed; into Him is it dissolved; in Him it breathes. So let every one adore Him calmly".42

Hence like the modern educators the ancient Hindus saw that complete self-realisation was possible only through finding one's own relations to the world around one and thus realising that all things have their beginning,

<sup>4</sup>º Quoted in R. C. Mazumdar's Outline of Ancient Indian History and Civilisation, pp. 30-31.

<sup>41</sup> Svetasvatara Upanishad I. 1.

<sup>49</sup> Chandogya Upanishad.

life and end in God. 43 So according to them the final emancipation was possible only through "communion with one's fellowmen and with the beauty and truth of the universe." In fact, the ideal of the Hindu educational theorist was to know oneself in relation to society and the universe and to find out the identity between the individual and the eternal self, for, this is "the only way in which we can conceive the satisfaction of human aspirations, the completion of human knowledge and the sanctification of human life."

The Hindus from a very early time have held that each man is born a debtor, that he has obligations first to the sages who were the founders of his religion and culture; secondly to the gods; thirdly to his parents. 44 The first debt he repays as a student by the careful study of the Vedas; the second he repays as a householder by the performance of a number of sacrifices; the third debt he repays by offerings to the manes and by becoming himself the father of children. 45 When a man has thus paid all the three debts he is considered free and becomes fit for applying himself to the attainment of final liberation. The early Hindus, therefore, considered education as a life-process and divided the life of an individual into four stages to each of which different duties were assigned 46 in such a way that their due performance in any stage might prepare the individual for the next higher stage. In the first stage, the mind was opened and disciplined and the body made fit to carry out the orders of the mind. In the second, the individual put the principles he had learnt into practice and realised their true nature and that of the things of the world and its round of duties; and thus becoming pure in mind and body, in the third, he turned his attention inward to recognise the true and intimate relation between the individual and the eternal self in which

<sup>48</sup> Compare—"Nityonityānām chetanaschetanāmeko bahunām yo bidadhāti kāmān
Tamātmaṣtham yenupasyanti dhīrāsteṣām śāntiḥ śaśtwatī netāreṣam".

"Who is eternal in the non-eternal, who is life of the living, who though
One, fulfills the desires of Many. The wise who perceive Him within their
self, to them belongs eternal peace, to none else."—Kaṭhopaniṣhad V. 13.

<sup>44</sup> Mahabharata, Adiparba, 229th Adhyaya.

<sup>45</sup> Mahābhārata, Anusasanaparba, 37th Adhyaya.

<sup>46</sup> Jābāla Upanishad, 4. says "Brahmachāri bhūtwā gihi bhabet, gihi bhutwā bani bhabet, bani bhutwā prabrajet." See also Manu VI. 34-35.

was found the explanation of the origin and the meaning of existence. Hence with the ancient Hindus as with Fræbel "the purpose of education was to expand the life of the individual until it should comprehend this existence through participation in the all-pervading spiritual activity."

Hence we have in the Gita47: "Let no wise man unsettle the mind of ignorant people attached to action." Thus the Gita forbids the wise to thrust on the individual the divine wisdom before he becomes fit for receiving it. It urges that the individual should perform action so that he may learn by doing, the true nature of his own self. This goes to show that the Hindu system was not in favour of dogmatic instruction and aimed at the development of the personality of the individual.48 "Indeed in the last stage of his life the individual becomes free from all fetters of law, of custom and of tradition and enjoys a life of perfect spiritual freedom and eternal bliss."49 It is thus clear that the Hindu philosophers instead of giving an 'expression to the hostility to individuality ' as has been suggested by some writers 50 aim at the greater development of individuality. In fact, instead of suppressing their individuality, "they attain their real individuality, infinitely beyond these little selves which we now think of so much importance. individuality will be lost; an infinite and eternal individuality will be realised. Pleasure in little things will cease. We are finding pleasure in this little body, in this little individuality, but how much greater the pleasure will be when the whole universe appears as our own body? If there be pleasure in these separate bodies how much more pleasure when all bodies are one? The man who has realised this, has attained to freedom, has gone beyond the dream and known himself in his real nature."51 So not only does the identification of the individual self with the eternal self 'not imply the loss of individuality but it is the only means by which individuality can be conserved and developed.'

<sup>47</sup> III. 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Also compars Gitā III. 29; Prašna Upanisad, 1st Prašna, 2; Taittirīya Upanisad— Vīgu VaHī; Chāndogya Upanisad—Satyakāma Jābāla.

<sup>4.</sup> Lectures on the Origin of Religion-Max Muller, p. 365.

<sup>50</sup> A Brief Course in the History of Education-Monros, p. 21.

<sup>51</sup> The Science and Philosophy of Religion—Swami Vivekananda, pp. 188-89.

### CHAPTER II.

ANCIENT HINDU EDUCATION: ITS AIMS AND OBJECTS.

Three or four words are to be met with in Ancient Indo-Aryan literature which roughly correspond to the modern word "education." Firstly the word "siksh" is to be found in the Vedic hymns which means "to learn to recite." In the Brahmanic, Upanisadic and Sutra literature the word "adhyayana" is to be met with which literally means "to go near" and expresses the idea of pupils going to some teacher for education. Thus the initiation ceremony "upanayana" was instituted which literally means "taking near." Young children were taken near a teacher for their education. In early Vedic times instruction was confined to particular families where the father generally taught his sons and there was no such initiation ceremony; but later on it came to be regarded as the preliminary to school-life. 'Thirdly, the word "vinaya" is to be met with in classical literature which comes from a root meaning "to lead out in a particular way." Thus it literally means an action in which (inborn faculties) are led out (i. e., trained) in a particular way" or "an action in which (one) leads (oneself) in a particular manner." The first meaning is identical with that of "education" and the second expresses the idea of the formation of character. Kalidasa carries the credit of having used it very often in that sense. Here is a reference to the 'development theory' of education: the inborn powers of man are to be drawn out and "Probodha" is used by the same poet to express the results of education. It means "awakening" or "enlightenment" Andeed an idea of the all-sided development of man was conceived by the Indo-Aryans and this will be further evident from the following passages :-

<sup>&</sup>quot;Learning brings on Vinaya (development of inborn power or modesty) which it its turn enhances the worth of man." 52

- Whoever learns by heart, writes, observes, asks questions (to get difficulties solved) and waits upon the learned, has his intellect developed like a lotus by the Sun's rays."53
- <sup>4</sup> Just as well-secured learning brings on enlightenment and leads to the formation of character." <sup>54</sup>

But an all-sided development of man cannot be complete unless he is prepared by the education he receives, not only for this life but also for a future existence. The harmonising of these two purposes in due proportion has always been a difficult task for educators. Thus in the Middle Ages in Europe stress was laid upon preparation for the world to come, while modern European systems often tend unduly to ignore this side of education. But the ancient Hindus attempted a happy synthesis of both these purposes. Thus a young Brahmin was prepared by the education he received for his practical duties in life as a priest and teacher but the need of preparing him for the life after death was also included in the education he received. The same may be said of the young Kshatriyas and Vaisyas who were required not only to fit themselves for their respective vocation in life but also to study the Vedas and give heed to the teachings of religion.

Hence the object of Ancient Hindu education was made three-fold: the acquisition of knowledge, the inculcation of social duties and religious rites and above all the formation of character.

The technical name for study proper i. e., Vedic study is "swadhyaya." The object in view was the three-fold knowledge (trayī), that of Rk, Yajus and Sāman. <sup>55</sup> Besides the three Vedas the branches of knowledge cultivated by the Hindus included not only literature, both sacred and secular with its accessories, Grammar, Phonetics, Exegetics and Metrics but also Logic, Philosophy. Itihasa, Vartta (Economics), Dandanīti (science of government), Dhanurveda (science of war), Astronomy, Law, Medicine and Mechanical and Fine Arts of all descriptions.

<sup>55</sup> Subhasita,

<sup>54</sup> Raghuvamsam.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Satapatha Brahmana I. 1. 4. 2. 3; II. 6. 4. 2-7; IV. 6. 7. 1. 2.; V. 5. 5. 9; VI. 3. 1. 10. 11. 12; X. 5. 2. 1. 2.; XI. 5. 4. 18; XII. 3. 3. 2; etc., etc.

Besides these we find innumerable references to the supreme or highest knowledge, technically called para-vidya, as distinguished from all other knowledge termed apara, as is done in the Mundakopanisad. The Mundaka defines aparavidya as comprising the four Vedas and the six Vedangas. By the para-vidya, the Mundaka understands that knowledge through which the ultimate Reality is known. All knowledge, para or apara, is opposed to ignorance, avidya. Para-vidya, however, is extolled as sarva-vidya-pratistha, the foundation of all arts and sciences, as vedanta, the final and highest stage of Vedic wisdom and as verily the science of sciences wherein lies implicit the knowledge of everything. A few citations would show clearly how the insufficiency of even the knowledge of the Vedes and indeed of all existing knowledge is recognised in the Upanisads.

In the Chandogya Upaniṣad<sup>61</sup> Narada acknowledges to Sanatkumara:

"I have studied, most revered Sir, the Rgveda, the Yajurveda, the Sāmaveda, the Atharvaveda as fourth, the epic and mythological poems as fifth Veda, grammar, necrology, arithmetic, divination, chronology, dialectics, politics, theology, the doctrine of prayer, necromacy, the art of war, astronomy, snake-charming and the fine arts—these things most revered Sir, have I studied: therefore am I, most revered Sir, learned indeed in the scripture (mantrabit), but not learned in the Ātman (Atmabit). Yet have I heard from such as are like you that he who knows the Ātman vanquishes sorrow. I am in sorrow. Lead me then over, I pray, to the farther shore that lies beyond sorrow."

Sanatkumāra said to him: "Whatever you have studied is but words." Similarly in the Chandogya, 8 Brhadāranyaka 3 and Kausitakī 4 treating of the same topic, Svetaketu professes to have been taught by his father Āruni, but fails to answer the eschatological questions propounded by King Pravahana (in the Kausitakī Citra Gāngyāyani) and returning in anger to his father reproaches him: "So then, without having really

<sup>50</sup> I. 1. 4.

Mundakopanisad, I. 1. 2.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., L. 1. 3.

<sup>\*\*</sup> V. 8, 10.

<sup>57</sup> I. 1. 5.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., III. 2. 6.

<sup>61</sup> VII, 1.

<sup>48</sup> VI. 2.

done so, you have claimed to have instructed me";65 "it was imagination then when you previously declared that my instruction was complete."66

Again in the Chandogya 67 it was shown that Svetaketu's "thorough" study of "all the Vedas" for full twelve years leaves him only full of conceit and confidence in his study and wisdom but ignorant of the questions put to him by his father regarding the One and Self-existent, through knowing whom every thing is known.

Accordingly we find several emphatic declarations of the principle as pointed out by these examples. "Therefore let a brahmana, after he has done with learning wish to stand by real strength (knowledge of the Self which enables us to dispense with all other knowledge)" says the Brhadaranyaka Upanisad.68 "He should not seek after the knowledge of the books, for that is mere weariness of the tongue" says the same Upanisad elsewhere.69 The Taittiriya Upanisad70 says "Before whom words and thoughts recoil, not finding him" while the Katha Upanisad? 1 emphatically states that "Not by the Veda is the Atman attained, nor by intellect, nor by much knowledge of books."

In this view the Katha Upanisad 79 even regards apara-vidya as avidyā and emphasises its essential inferiority and worthlessness, although the apara-vidya includes, according to the Mundaka78 the four Vedas together with the six Vedangas.

From the same ideal standpoint and standard of knowledge Kalpa or ritualism comes in for its special share of condemnation.74 The Mundaka<sup>75</sup> openly brands as fools those that seek to perform mere rites and ceremonies. The Brhadaranyaka<sup>76</sup> in a spirit of depreciation thinks

67 VI. 1.

<sup>65</sup> Chandogya Upanisad, V. 3. 4.

<sup>••</sup> Brhadāranyakopanisad, VI. 2. 3.

<sup>60</sup> IV. 4. 21. 66 III. 5. 1.

TO II. 4.

<sup>71</sup> I. 2, 23,

<sup>72</sup> I. 2. 4-5.

<sup>78</sup> I. 1. 5.

Tor the entire evidence see Dr. R. K. Mockerji's article in Sir Asutosa Mukerji Silver Jubilee volumes, Vol. III. Part I. Orientalia, pp. 220f., upon which I have freely drawn.

<sup>74</sup> I. 2. 7.

it fit to compare those who instead of knowing and recognising the Åtman as the only Reality, merely offer sacrifices to the gods, to domestic animals, ministering to the comforts of their owners. We read there: "By sacrifice the world of the fathers, by knowledge the world of the gods is gained". In the Aitareya Āraņyaka \*\* we find the following: "To what end, shall we repeat the Veda, to what end shall we sacrifice for, we sacrifice breath in speech or in breath speech."

In the later Upanisads, however, we find a more friendly attitude towards the sacrificial cult. In Katha<sup>79</sup> the performance of certain ceremonies and works leads to the "overstepping of birth and death" and to "everlasting rest." This tendency towards reconciliation and synthesis attains its climax in the Maitrayana Upanisad, of which the very first passage affirms that the laying of the sacrificial fires leads to a knowledge of Brahman, while in IV. 3, it is expressly laid down that a knowledge of the Voda, observance of caste-duties and asrama-duties are all essential to the emancipation of the natural atman and its re-union with the Supreme Ātman. In Yajnabalkya Samhitaso we read: "brahmanas endowed with Vedic studies are superior to all (the other castes); of them those given to the performance of religious acts, are superior; of them those gifted with the knowledge of the Self (are superior). The worthiness of a person is not determined by mere learning or asceticism; but he is known as a worthy person in whom both these exist." Again<sup>81</sup>: "The study of the Vedas, sacrifice, celibacy, penance, self-control, faith, fasting and control over the senses are the instruments of the knowledge of the Hārit Samhitā<sup>82</sup> speaks in the same strain: "So long one Self." enjoys the pleasure of seeing the Atman he should not act against the religious practices mentioned in the fruti and the smriti (such as penances, meditation, etc.). It should be noted, however, that orthodox and traditional Brahminical opinion does not find any real antagonism between the sacrificial cult, the scheme of practical life under the orders of caste and asrama on the one hand and the Upanisadic spirit of the quest of

<sup>77</sup> L 5. 16.

<sup>\*\*</sup> I. 17.

<sup>•1</sup> III. 190; compare III. 191.

<sup>78</sup> III. 2. 6.

<sup>\*</sup> I. 199-200.

<sup>\*\*</sup> VII. 8.

the Brahman on the other. The importance of the passages expressing such attitude is only to emphasise the supreme importance and worth of paravidyz.

It is obvious, however, that all men are not physically and mentally fit for the acquisition of paravidya, nor can they be fit for it, all at once. It was to meet this difficulty, that the ancient Hindus considered education as a life-process and divided the life of an individual into four stages to each of which different duties were assigned in such a way that their due performance in any stage might prepare the individual for the next higher stage. Thus the ancient Hindus did not ignore this mundane existence but on the other hand prepared the people for it by providing for education on a caste basis; so that on the completion of their education they found no difficulty in obtaining a means of livelihood.

Indeed social efficiency was one of the aims of Ancient Hindu Education. From the modern point of view a socially efficient man is he who is not a drag on his society and who far from interfering with the efforts of others, contributes to the progress and development of the society from which he has freely received nourishment for his body and soul. Hence every student was taught the rights and duties holding all together (Dharma), and even an advanced soul had no right to give up the duties pertaining to its position until it had shuffled off the mortal coil. We have the explicit mention of the value of philosophy as sustaining man in unremitting social service. Infinity is bliss, and only one who obtains bliss performs social duties.' [Ch. Up., VII. 22. Compare "Atma iva Sevah" (Rgveda 1. 73. 2) and "Esa hyevānandayti" (Taitt. Up.).] 'None would strive to work or even to live, if only this bliss in the human heart (ananda) ever ceased to be. Then joy would cease, and the thought of its ceasing smites humanity with horror.'83 Thus the vedic ideal was the harmony of work and worship attained through perfect obedience to the divine will. Education aimed at developing the power

<sup>\*\*</sup> Yadā hyevaişa, etasmin udaramantaram kurute atha tasya bhayam bhabati (Taitt. Up.).

Upastaranamaham prajāyai pasūnām bhūyāsam Vācham...... susrūsenyām manusyebhyah (T. A., IV. 1.),

and gifts of the people along these lines. It took advantage of the natural reactions of the child, and developed his individuality, only to lose it finally in the larger life of the universe.

Again, as the development of the spiritual side concerned the Hindus more than anything else, the moral purpose completely dominated the school-life of the Hindu student. He had to go through a course of discipline which helped to form his mind and to make his body fit to carry out its orders. Freebel rightly observes: "To give firmness to the will, to quicken it and to make it pure and strong and enduring is the chief concern in education." The German educator Herbert was also a staunch supporter of the formation of character as the aim of education. That the ancient Hindu educators also laid the greatest emphasis on the formation of character will be evident from the following:—

"The result of education is good character and good behaviour."84

"The result of studies is good character and good conduct."85

"A conquest does not make a hero, nor studies a wise man. He who has conquered his senses is the real hero. He who practises virtues is really wise." 87

"Neither austerities nor the Veda nor the Agnihotra nor gift of sacrifical presents can save one who has resorted to low conduct and deviated (from the path of duty)." The Vedas do not purify him who is void of good conduct, though he may have studied them together with the six Angas; the metres leave this man at death as full-fledged birds leave their nest." Like unto doors (unable to please) a blind

Mahābhārata, Savāparba, 5th adhyāya.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Mahābhārata, Udyogaparba, 38th adhyāya.

<sup>\*</sup> Mahabharata, Banaparba. 312th adhyaya.

Vyāsa Samhitā, IV. 59-60.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Vasistha Samhita, Ch. VI.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Vasistha Samhitä, Ch. VI.

man bow can all the Vedas with the six Angas and esoteric sciences please a brāhmaṇa who is devoid of good conduct." 90

"Conduct is the highest virtue as inculcated by the smrti and the sruti." Devoid of conduct, a brahmana does not obtain the merit of reading the Vedas. Possessed of good conduct he reaps the entire fruit (of such study)." "Having thus observed the origin of virtue from (good) conduct, the sages accepted conduct as the basis of all austerities." 3

Kautilya speaks in the same strain: "Restraint of the organs of the sense on which success in study and discipline depends can be enforced by abandoning lust, anger, greed, vanity (mana), haughtiness (mada) and overjoy (harsa). Absence of discrepancy (avipratipatti) in the perception of sound, touch, colour, flavour and scent by means of the ear, the eyes, the tongue and the nose is what is meant by the restraint of the organs of the sense. Strict observance of the precepts of sciences also means the same; for the sole aim of all the sciences is nothing but restraint of the organs of sense. Whosoever is of reverse character, whoever has not his organs of sense under his control, will soon perish, though possessed of the whole earth, bound with the four quarters." 94

Atri<sup>95</sup> says: "The panegyrists, the flatterers, cheats, those who act harshly and those who are avaricious—these five brāhmaṇas should never be adored, even if they are equal to Bṛhaṣpati in learning." A brāhmaṇa who knows only Gāyatrī but who is thoroughly self-restrained is better than he who knows the three Vedas (but) who is not self-restrained, who eats all (sorts of) food and sells everything (i.e., prohibited things)."96 "Neither the study of the Vedas nor liberality nor sacrifices nor any self-imposed restraint, nor austerities ever procure the attainment of rewards to a man whose heart is contaminated by sensuality". For, "when one among

Vasistha Samhita Ch. VI; c. f. the four slokas in this chapter which immefollow those quoted above.

<sup>91</sup> Manu I, 108.

pa Manu I. 109.

<sup>98</sup> Manu I. 110; a. f. Manu II. 118.

Arthasastra, R. Syamasastri's Eng. Trans., p. 12; c. f. Kamandak-Sarga, sloka 20.

<sup>95 1. 379.</sup> 

all the organs steps away from him, even as the water (flows) through the one (open) foot of a (water-carrier's) skin." Sukrāchārya says: "One should bring to bay or discipline by the hook of knowledge, the elephant of the senses which is running to and fro in a destructive manner in the vast forest of joyable things." "Discipline is the chief thing to the guide or King. This comes through the dictates or precepts of the śāstras. This gives mastery over the senses and one who has mastered the senses, acquires the śāstras." In Kādambarī we find a young ascetic admonishing Puṇḍarika for losing his self-control, thus: "Verily all knowledge is fruitless, study of holy books is useless, initiation has lost its meaning, pondering the teaching of gurus avails not, proficiency is worthless, learning leads to naught, since even men like thee are stained by the touch of passion and overcome by folly." "99

In order to achieve this high ideal of perfect mastery over the senses, a life of strict discipline was prescribed for the student. He had to shun sensual pleasures of all kinds and lead a simple austere life. He was inspired by the high ideals of the teacher with whom he lived in close and intimate contact and imbibed social and moral virtues by his precept and example. At the same time the tender side of his nature was nourished and domestic virtues developed by the sweet and affectionate relationship with the wife and children of the teacher.

<sup>97</sup> Ch. I. lines 193-94.

Sukranītisāra, Ch. I. lines 181-82; c. f. Ch. I. lines 183-85; 191-92.

<sup>\*</sup> Kadambari, C. M. Ridding's Eng. Trans., pp. 110-111.

## CHAPTER III.

#### HOME EDUCATION OF THE CHILD IN ANCIENT INDIA.

We have already referred to the acquisition of knowledge as one of the aims of Ancient Indian Education; but it was the acquisition of such knowledge as would enable a man to attain a right attitude in life. In one of the Upanishads we are told that the Right and the Real are concealed under the glamour and glitter of knowledge, as the real form of the Sun is obscured from our view by the halo of light surrounding that luminary.100 We are told also that the knowledge of the self, of eternal life, is not obtained by learning, by the recitation of texts or even by listening to the experiences of others, but is entirely a matter of the individual's interiorisation 101 which finds all things in the universe in their proper place and proportion and fills the earnest seeker with sweetness and light, born of love for all and renunciation of the self. Indeed, Education in Ancient India was not merely concerned with the instruction of the young; nor even with the formation of habit and the development of will-power. It sought to build up the whole being of the individual and to enable him to lead the best and the highest kind of life possible for him in the circumstances in which he was placed. Educative influences were so planned as to mould his life from the moment he was conceived to the moment of his death. The system included the anxious care-taking of the babe, the efficient breeding of the child, the delicate training of adolescence and the gradual developing of the sense of values in the little thought of acts of daily life. His domestic and social duties were so arranged as to develop a life of constant social service and spiritual drili1, to lead finally to a surrender of the realised self in communion with the Divine. If education was conterminous, it was also co-extensive with life.

<sup>100</sup> Satyasyāpihitam mukham.....apāviņu satyadharmāya drightaye...-Isa Up.

<sup>101</sup> Nāyamātmā prabachanena labhyo na medhayā na bahunā śruten. — Katha Up.

The embryo was treated through the expectant mother and a ceremonial or a festivity ensured emphatic attention at every stage to matters of embryonic and babe welfare. Numerous Vedic hymns which are outside the regular collection impress on the parents the need for complete concord and agreement and for harmony with the laws of Nature, to ensure the real happiness of the babe to be born. It is clearly recognised that the mother, as she is the first, is also the most powerful of educators whose influence just before and during pregnancy would make or mar the child's welfare in after life. If she thinks of things holy and screne, enjoys peace and happiness and finds her atmosphere congenial, she can stimulate the child's mental facultics, induce patriotic and other virtues and instill spiritual force into its mind. When she is enceinte the prayer is to secure her health and that of the fœtus, so that both might be alive after the parturition. The expectant mother has her surroundings solemn and silent, which lay the foundations of the spiritual training of the future child.102

After confinement the mother is placed under pollution for a month and a half, to ensure the concentration of her attention on the infant. The hymns used at the jatakarma draw attention to the need for the service of humanity with an abiding faith in the Omnipotent, for building the babe's physique by attention to the breast-milk of the mother. On this latter circumstance depended not only the life of the tender one, but its natural endowment of strength and its mental and moral qualities

<sup>102</sup> Pregnant women must not bathe in bathing places, allow hair to be loose or lie with head high or low and must not walk in the open air. They must avoid the cemetery, burial ground, large trees, etc. (Suśruta, III, 10). c. f. Potavattu I. 5; Dīvyābadāna, pp. 2, 79, 167, 441 and 523.

c. f. Megasthenas: 'The Brachmanes are the best esteemed, for they are more consistent in the eir opinions from the time of their conception in the womb they are under the guardian care of learned men who go to the mother and under the pretence of using some incantations for the welfare of herself and her unborn babe, in reality give her prudent hints and counsels. The women who listen most willingly are thought to be most fortunate in their children. After the birth, the children are under the care of one person after another, and as they advance in age, each succeeding master is more accomplished than his predecessor.'—Fragment 41.

(Tyur varcho yaso balam). At the niskramana the child was taken into the open, to admire the gay flowers and the green leaves on the background of the Sun-lit sky. It breathed the pollen driven by the wanton wind, witnessed the bright plumage of the dancing peacock and was treated to the music of the gurgling brook and the sweet song of the birds. A spirit of cheery optimism and a sense of the joyousness of life are sought to be instilled into the child almost from birth as at the name-giving ceremony (nāma-karaṇa)—which was certainly in vogue at least as early as the Yajurveda—by the friends and relatives assembled for the purpose. After the celebration of the first birthday it was given its food in the placid moon-light and taught to trace the course of the Moon and the stars as they appear on the heavens unwearied night after night. In fact, its individuality was respected and emotions aroused at every ceremonial.

'The parents of little Goyama performed in due order the rites of the birthday, the sight of the Sun and the Moon, the vigil, the name-giving, the walking and moving of legs, the feasting, the increase of food, the teaching to speak, the boring of ears, the cleansing of the ear, the dressing of the hair, the taking to school etc., <sup>103</sup> This attention to the child in the first four or five years must be of high educative value. Jung and Freud have proved by psycho-analysis that the habits formed in these years have great influence in determining not only the physical status of the child but the future emotional and volitional life of the adult.

The ceremony of tonsure (chaula) is at the age of three or five, when the consciousness of self appears and asserts itself. Advantage is now taken of his growing egoism for establishing regularity in daily life. He is to rise early, and wash specially his teeth and eyes, to have regular meal times and retire to bed an hour or two after sun-set. His home-education would begin from now. Comenius ealls the first years the mother's school and finds here the rudiments of all later education. And this was true of the Indian mother whose share in education is well brought out by the epithet Virasū—'The mother of heroes'—of a Kshatriya lady and by invoking the name of the mother when trying to

<sup>103</sup> Antagado Dasao, Barnett's Trans., p. 29; Mantra Pātḥa of the Apastambins, 13, 2; Aśoka's Rock Edict, IX.

Anjaneya for Hanumana; Kuntimata applied to Bhima and Kaunteya to Arjuna. The child was taught that he was a brother to the Nature's dumb creation, to the guileless calf of the milcheow and even to the noisy Indian crow. The high rocks and giant trees were to him embodiments of a mysterious power which he was taught to reverence. Nature's phenomena like thunder and lightning were explained as the results of the working of this Unseen Being, as much as the soft stillness of the night and the motions of the spheres. He was led from Nature to Nature's God. This was the foundation of his spiritual training.

The family under the guidance of the father was the next factor in the child's education. Kālidās calls a child 'well-trained at home' as 'having a real father' and exhorts each and every father to bring up his children according to the religious instructions by example as well as by precept. Pestalozzi says that life educates more than the school and that the centre of elementary education is the sympathy of ideas, the speech and the intelligent activities of a well-organised family-life. The Hindu joint family furnished the child with his first lessons in the art of cooperation. It is the schooling ground of the social virtues—of sympathy with distress, of unselfish affection, of gratitude for service, of regard for elders, of social service without a sense of patronage and of self-sacrifice in the interest of the other members of the community. In family life alone, in other words, is there complete provision for what Froebel 104 calls 'the fundamental need of childhood '—self-expression.

The Indian home was not so much a preparation for the school as a supplement to it. The father, sitting under the bounteous mango or the shady banyan and the grand-mother at her leisure, kindled not only the child's love of Nature but his interest in literature, by telling him stories and reading aloud to him extracts from the golden deeds of the epic heroes and heroines. The child's personality was worked and developed and his work assessed and appreciated in his treatment of nursery rhymes as well as in the reproduction of these stories. In a joint family, trained to share

<sup>104</sup> The Education of Man., p. 102.

what he had with others one could expect the idea of giving foremost in the mind of every juvenile Nachiketas and the incipient spirit of commercialism clean wiped out of his mind. Thus the Indian family training did not aim at enabling the child to be useful to the family at the earliest possible moment by training him in some practical art but aimed at the harmonious development of his powers.

#### CHAPTER IV.

## ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA.

The weaning of the child from the sweet and softening influences of family life was signalised by a great ceremony which took place probably at the age of five. Sometime later, at the age of seven or eight, was initiation into sacred lore at the hands of a spiritual teacher. But in a system where the boy generally followed the occupation of his father, it is probable that he was trained by actual participation in those activities that were required of him in adult life. So primary schools in the modern sense probably did not exist in the earliest times. Even in the Sūtras there is no mention of different curricula for the different stages of education. Indirectly we can gather some information about them from the references in almost all the works of the later systems of philosophy as to the competency of the student to enter upon the study. For instance, the study of Nyaya and Tarka required a student to have gone through the course of grammar, literature and lexicon. 105 For Vedanta, a previous knowledge of Vedic hymns, of Vedangas and a course of regular religious instruction and a pure righteous mind were necessary. 106 Whoever was authorised to enjoy the fruit of the religions rites could study Mimansa. 107 Thus the different sciences laid down different standards of previous preparation, the highest of them being that of the Vedanta. The Sankhya, Nyaya and Vaishesika systems were a sort of realism and a student who understood written Sanskrit could commence their study, which made him observe and think of the matter and of its properties. No hard and fast rules were laid down anywhere as regards the primary or higher course. That was all left to the discretion of the teacher who marked the capacity of the pupil and led him on step by step from one book to another.

<sup>105</sup> Adhitavyākaraņakābyakosonadhitanyāyo bālah.

<sup>106</sup> Adhikārī tubidhibadaditavedavedāngatwenāpātato nitāntanirmalaswāntaņ.

<sup>107</sup> Falaswämyamadhikārah.

In a book on astrology, 108 however, auspicious days and hours are mentioned for the commencement of the teaching of the alphabet to small children. But our authorities differ as to the earliest age for the commencement of such studies. Works on astrology permit education to begin as early as the third year but this was considered too early by writers on medicine. Charaka, for instance, insists on the postponement of the school-going age to the fifth year. According to Visnu Purana the period from birth to the fifth year of the child was regarded as the time for play, 109 after which 110 the time for study commenced. Nevertheless, in the case of precocious children, there was introduction to letters at the age of three and initiation to Vedic studies a few later. (According to Kautilya111 "having undergone the ceremony of tonsure the student shall learn the alphabet (lipi) and arithmetic. After investiture with the thread sacred From the Raghuvamsa<sup>112</sup> of Kālidāsa study the triple Vedas etc." we learn that when the tonsure ceremony was over, Prince Raghu learnt the proper grasping of the alphabets along with the ministers' sons of equal age and then entered the extensive field of learning like one entering the vast expanse of the sea through the mouths of a river. Kalidasa would not have mentioned the fact of ministers' sons being likewise fit for school, if the prevailing sentiment of the time had looked at such juvenile training as incredible or impossible. According I-Tsing<sup>113</sup> the children learn the letters of the etc., when they are six years old. Yuan Chwang informs us that boys passed on to the study of arts and sciences at that elementary education must have begun years of age, 80 earlier.

<sup>108</sup> Mühurta Märtanda.

<sup>100</sup> Kālāḥ krīdanakam te tadante adhyayanasya cha Tataḥ samastabhogānāṃ teṣyānte tapaḥ

<sup>-</sup>Visnu Purăna. Part I, XII. 18.

<sup>110</sup> Manu II. 37.

<sup>111</sup> Arthasastra, R. Syama Sastvi's Eng. Trans., pp. 10-11.

<sup>112</sup> Canto III. sloka 28.

<sup>213</sup> Takakusu's Eng. Trans., pp. 171-72.

Kalhaņa's Rajatarangiņī also refers to elementary education in the following passages:—

- "Taking the name of Suyya, he grew into an intelligent (youth) and having learnt his letters, became a teacher of small boys in the house of some householder." 114
  - "Kāmadeva.....having acquired a knowledge of the akṣaras became a boy's teacher in the house of Merubardhana (a minister)." 115

But the Hindu Dharmasūtras and Gṛḥyasūtras have no reference to any form of literary education outside the Brahminic schools. But silence in works of this kind is not certain evidence that facilities for primary education did not exist and the Brahmins may have had reasons for wishing to ignore any form of education which was not in their hands. We have numerous references to the various and wide-spread uses of writing in the Jātakas; to the writing of epistles, sealing a letter, the forging of letters, inscriptions on a gold plate, inscription over hermitage, letters of the alphabet engraved on gold necklets, inscriptions upon garments and accourtements, the scratching of a message on an arrow, writing on a leaf etc.<sup>116</sup>

A Buddhist tract called the Silās which dates from about 450 B. C.<sup>117</sup> gives a list of children's games. One of them is Akkharikā (Lettering) which is explained as "guessing at letters traced in the air or on a playfellow's back." Such a game amongst children seems to show that the knowledge of the alphabet was prevalent at least among a certain section of the community. The Greek writers Nearchos and Curtius,

<sup>114</sup> Stein's Rajatarangini, Vol. I. p. 196.

<sup>115</sup> Stein's Rajatarangini, Vol. I. p. 134.

<sup>Jātaka II. 95; 174; VI. 370, 385, 403; I. 451, IV. 124; II. 36, 372, 376; IV. 7, 257, 355, 488; V. 59, 67, 125; VI. 29; VI. 520; IV. 489; VI. 390; VI. 408; II. 90; II. 174: IV. 55; VI. 369, 400.</sup> 

<sup>117</sup> Rhys Davids-Buddhist India, p. 108.

in the last quarter of the fourth century B. C., refer to the custom of the Indians of writing letters on cloth and bark. No doubt, Megasthenes, at a slightly later date, relates that judicial cases in India were decided according to unwritten laws and that the Indians knew no letters but in another passage, he speaks of the use of mile-stones to indicate distances and halting places on the high roads. Taking these passages together it seems that at that time, writing was used for public and private notifications, though this does not necessarily imply the existence of schools for teaching these arts.

But there is a passage in Jataka I. 451 which indicates that there were elementary schools where the art of writing was regularly taught. It tells us how when a rich man's son "was being taught to write" his "young slave used to go with his young master's tablets and so learnt at the same time to write himself." There is a passage also in Lalitavistara "119 which shows that at the time when it was composed it was not uncommon for some boys at least to learn writing and arithmetic and there were some facilities for this in the shape of elementary schools of some sort and that these were outside the monasteries. Here we are told that following the usual custom of the world Gautama Buddha went to the 'writing' school to practice well all figures, letters, calculation and reading and writing and moral precepts. It is interesting to note here that a modern system of teaching the letters of the alphabet was also then known as the teacher then taught each of them in association with a sentence beginning with the letter. 120 The first lesson in writing delineated in sculpture is at Peshwar. The writing board shows a few kharoshti characters, which the infant Buddha is supposed to have written. 191 According to the Elephant Cave Inscription of the year 165 of Mauryan era (157 or 148 B. C.) King Kharavela of Kalinga leart reading, writing and arithmetic in

<sup>116</sup> Indian Palmography, J. G. Buhler, p. 6.

<sup>110</sup> Cb. X.

<sup>180</sup> Lalitavistara-R. L. Mitra, p. 184.

<sup>181</sup> Sculpture No. 347. (Spooner's Hand book, p. 54).

his childhood. 188 The Siksā enumerates the course of elementary study as comprising the art of writing (lipi), prayers and psalms (stuti), meanings of words and their mutual relationships (nighantu) and elementary grammar including terminations and tenses, declensions and inflections (śabha). The Divyābadāna 128 has reference to school-room (lekha-śāla), to sciences taught (ketubham), to stories which delight the young learners (parikathā), to pencils used in writing (tulā) and the abacus (janitra) used in teaching arithmetic. The Lalitavistāra 124 refers also to the wooden writing-board (phalākā). Jātaka No. 125 125 refers not only to the wooden writing board (phalākā) but also to the wooden pen (barṇaka). And it is interesting to note that both of these are still used in Indian elementary schools.

It is well known that Asoka issued his Inscriptions with a view to promote amongst his people Dharma or the Law of Piety. These inscriptions were composed in vernacular dialects and inscribed in two different scripts. This shows that they were meant to suit of the different provinces and the people implies among the people. percentage of literacy In the words of Mr. V. A. Smith<sup>186</sup> "the care taken to publish the imperial edicts and commemorative records by incising them in imperishable characters, most skilfully executed, on rocks and pillars in great cities, on main lines of communication or at sacred spots frequented by pilgrims, implies that a knowledge of reading and writing was widely diffused, and that many people must have been able to read the documents. The same inference may be drawn from the fact that the inscriptions are composed, not in any learned scholastic tongue, but in vernacular dialects intelligible to the common people and modified when necessary to suit local needs."

<sup>182</sup> J. G. Euhler, Indian Paleography, p. 5.

<sup>233</sup> Cowell and Neill's edition, p. 532.

<sup>284</sup> Chapter X.

<sup>125</sup> J. G. Bühler, Indian Palmography, p. 5.

<sup>200</sup> Asika, third edition, pp. 138-39.

The next question which awaits solution is how far during all the centuries that Buddhism existed in India. Buddhist monasteries influenced the general mass of the people, at least those who adhered to Buddhism and provided opportunities of elementary instruction. Before we can give our verdict we shall do well if we bear in mind that in breaking down the monopoly of higher learning which has been in the hands of Brahmin teachers and in offering the possibilities of education to men of all castes, Buddhism may have done something to extend amongst the people of India the desire for some elementary education. It is also quite certain that Buddhist educational ideals and practices were mostly derived from or closely connected with, those of Brahminism. No doubt the persuit of secular knowledge would almost seem, from one point of view, to be contrary to the spirit and purpose of Buddhism and yet the monasteries had to make provision for some sort of general and secular education when they found that their rivals—the Brahminical schools—were open not only to young brahmanas who were destined for the priestly office, but to others of the twice-born castes as well. Moreover, elementary instruction was also imparted by the Buddhist monasteries of Burma, 127 Cevlon, 128 Tibet 129 and China. 130 All these considerations may lead one to the not improbable conclusion that Buddhist monasteries in India also began to impart elementary education of a secular kind, at sometime or other. Mr. V. A. Smith remarks: 131 "It is probable learning was fostered by the numerous monasteries and that the boys and girls in hundreds of villages learned their lessons from the monks and nuns as they do now in Burma from the monks. Aśoka it should be noted, encouraged nunneries. makes particular reference more than once to female lay disciples as well as to nuns. I think it likely that the percentage of literacy among the Buddhist population in Aśoka's time was higher than it is now in many provinces of British Iudia. The returns of 1901 show 182 that in the

<sup>197</sup> Shway Yeo, Ch. II.; Burma Past and Present-Albert Fytche, pp. 190-92.

<sup>228</sup> R. S. Hardy, Eastern Monachism, pp. 18 and 313ff.

<sup>220</sup> S. C. Das, Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow, pp. 3-11.

<sup>120</sup> Fa-Hien, Legge's Eng. Trans., p. 78.

<sup>181</sup> Aśoka, third edition, p. 139.

<sup>162</sup> The Indian Empire, Imperial Gazeteer, Vol. IV. (1907), p. 416,

United Provinces of Agra and Oudh which include many great cities and ancient capitals, the number of persons per 1000 able to read and write amounts to only 57 males and 2 females. In Burma where Buddhist monasteries flourish, the corresponding figures are 378 and 45." There is not, however, any very clear evidence of the fact that Buddhist monasteries began to impart popular secular education as early as the days of Aśoka; but we should bear in mind that the rise of Buddhism is synchroneous with the rise of mighty Indian Empires and the welding together of a large part of India into one Empire, under the strong rule of Mauryan sovereigns, must have given increased opportunities for trade and commerce and this may have also led to an increased demand for popular schools where the three R's could be learnt. Moreover, the prevalence of the Vaisnava cult, centuries before the Christian era, which held out the possibility of the attainment of salvation by an earnest layman who does his duty as expounded in the Bhagabad Gita is the evidence of a widespread movement amongst laymen in India and it would be not unlikely that it would be also characterised by a growing desire for education. And the growth of the popular form of Buddhism of the Mahayana school which similarly held out hopes of spiritual progress to those who are not able to forsake the world and become monks must have given a kecner edge to this hankering for secular education.

As a matter of fact we find that at the time of the visit of Fa-Hien (899-414 A. D) the monasteries seem to have begun to undertake instruction of a more general kind than merely instructing those who joined the sampha in the precepts of Buddhism. In speaking of the monastery at Pataliputra or Patna, he says<sup>188</sup>: "By the side of the Tope of Aśoka there has been made a Mahāyāna monastery, very grand and beautiful; there is also a Hinayāna one; the two together containing six or seven hundred monks. The rules of demeanour and the scholastic arrangements in them are worthy of observation. Sāmans (monks) of the highest virtue from all quarters and students, inquirers wishing to find out truth and the grounds of it all resort to these monasteries." In a note on Fa-Hien's

<sup>188</sup> Fa-Hien-Legge's Eng. Trans., p. 78.

reference to the "scholastic arrangements" at Patna Prof. Legge, says: "Why should there not have been schools in those monasteries in India as there were in China? Fa-Hien himself grew up with other boys in a monastery and no doubt had to go to school. And the next sentence shows us that there might be schools for more advanced students as well as for the sramaners." Thus there seems no reason to doubt that by the time of Fa-Hien the monasteries may have given some general instruction not only to young novices but even to pupils who had no intention of joining the sampha. At all events the system was in full swing at the time of I-Tsing's visit. (He says 134: "To try the sharpness of their wit they proceed to the King's court to lay down before it the sharp weapon of their abilities; there they present their schemes and show their (political) receive grants of land and are advanced to a high rank; their famous names are, as a reward, written in white on their lofty gates. After this they can follow whatever occupation they like." But there is a passage 185 which puts the matter still more clearly and leaves no doubt upon the question: "Those white-robed (laymen) who come to the residence of a priest and read chiefly Buddhist scriptures with the intention that they may one day become tonsured and black-robed are called "Children" (manava). Those who (coming to a priest) want to learn secular literature only, without having any intention of quitting the world, are called "students" (brahmachāri). These two groups of persons residing in a monastery, have to subsist at their own expense. In the monasteries in India there are many "students" who are entrusted to the bhiksus and instructed by them in secular literature. On the one hand the "students" serve under priests as pages, on the other the instruction will lead to pious aspirations. It is, therefore, very good to keep them in as much as both sides are benefitted in this way."

These passages make it quite clear that arising out of the duty of the bhiksus to teach and spread their doctrines and of the relation of the teacher and pupil which the discipline of the order required, the Buddhist monastery had become a place where lived not only those who were studying

<sup>484</sup> I-Tsing, pp. 177-78.

the Buddhist doctrines with a view to joining the order but also those who had no intention of doing so but were residing only for the sake of secular knowledge and education. This practice may have been inflenced by the Brahminical schools which were open not only to young brahmanas but to others of the twice-born castes as well.

The Chinese travellers furnish us with some idea of the curricula of studies carried on in these monastic schools. Yuan Chwang says that children began by learning the alphabet and the siddhir-astu, a primer of twelve chapters. Then began the study of the five Vidyās—sabda-vidyā (grammar), Silpasthāna-vidyā (arts and crafts), Chikitsā-vidyā (medicine), Hetuvidyā (logic), and Adhyātma-vidyā (philosophy). I-Tsing gives more details; says he: 136 "The name for the general secular literature in India is Vyākaraņa, of which there are about five works, similar to the Five Classics of the Divine Land (China).

I. The Si-t'an Chwang (Siddha-composition) for beginners—This is also called Siddhirastu, signifying 'Be there success' (Ch. lit. 'complete be good luck!') for, so named is the first section of this small (book) of learning.

III.—The Book on Dhātu—This consists of 1000 slokas and treats particularly of grammatical rules. It is as useful as the above Sūtra.

<sup>186</sup> I-Tsing, pp. 175-179,

- IV. The Book on the Three Khilas—Khila means 'wasteland', so called because this (part of grammar) may be likened to the way in which a farmer prepares his field for corn. It may be called a book on the three pieces of waste land; (1) Aṣtadhātu consists of 1000 ślokas; (2) Wench'a (Manda of Munda) and consists of 1000 ślokas; (3) Unādi too consists of 1000 ślokes. (The first deals with cases and conjugations and the two others with the formation of words from root and suffix or suffixes).

There thus seems to have been a long course of grammatical study of Sanskrit language, beginning when a boy was six years of age and lasting till he was twenty, which was a preliminary to the study of higher subjects in the secondary stage of education. But this profound study of Sanskrit grammar was of a higher rather than of an elementary type and it is curious that I-Tsing makes no mention of any arrangement for the teaching of reading and writing to the lads who were taking up this course nor of the teaching of arithmetic. It would seem, however, not unlikely that when once the monasteries had begun to receive pupils who were not intending to join the community, the system might have been generally extended and to have catered even for children who only came to learn the three R's and receive some simple religious instruction, and the analogy of Buddhist schools as they exist in Burma and Ceylon even down to the present day would seem to confirm this.

A description of the elementary education carried on in Burma in Buddhist monasteries as given by Lieutenant-General Albert Fytche may help us to form some picture of what the Buddhist elementary schools in India were probably like, though difference of country and lapse of time may have brought about many changes. "It is almost the universal custom for Burmese parents in every class of life, to cause their

sons to enter the monasteries as novices, for the purpose of learning to read and write. As soon as the boys are able to read and write, religious books are put into their hands, from which they imbibe religious notions and become acquainted with at least some portions of their creed... .............Before a lad can obtain the novitiate he must be at least eight years of age, and his entrance into a monastery is a marked event in his life. He proceeds through the streets to the monastery, dressed in the richest apparel his parents can afford, riding on a horse gaily caprisoned, or sitting in a handsome litter borne on the shoulders of four or more men, with gold umbrellas held over their head, and accompanied by music and a large procession of kinsfolk and acquaintances. On reaching the threshold of the monastery, the postulant is delivered by his parents over to the Superior or Tsaya-dau, after whom he repeats the two Buddhist formularies of the "Three Refuges" (tun-surana) and the ten obligations (das-sil). His head is then shaved and his fine secular dress is changed for the yellow-robe. From that time his identity is lost, he is subjected to monastic discipline, the monastery becomes his home and he must go round every morning with his alms-bowl and subsist on the daily food that is given him......The novices do not generally remain in the monasteries beyond a few years and then they return to secular life; but in the event of their remaining until they are twenty years of age, they can then, if they wish it, receive full ordination, and become patsengs or professed members of the order."137

"Some boys are boarders, others attend the monastery every day. The instruction begins by teaching a boy the letters of the alphabet written on a rough wooden slate. These he learns by shouting them out at the top of his voice. All the books which are learnt are religious ones, and the curriculum includes the learning of Pali formulæ and prayers necessary for religious worship. The life and sayings of Buddha and the Jātakas are the chief elements of instruction. The pupils repeat their lessons word for word after their teacher, as they sit in rows before him and chant after him all in the same way." 185

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>187</sup> Burma Past and Present, Lieut-General Albert Fytche, pp. 190-92.

<sup>200</sup> Shway Yeo, Ch. II.

"The monastic system in Burma has a practical interest from its being connected with national education. Every monastery has its school, where in harmony with the national religion are learnt the same lessons which have been taught from generation to generation for a couple of thousand years. On arriving at some obscure spot in the interior of the country, the first sign of life that often strikes the ear, is the murmuring sound proceeding from the monastery school; and there is not a town or village, scarcely even a hamlet, I think, that has not at least one of such schools." 189

In schools in Buddhist monasteries in Ceylon the condition of affairs was very similar. 140 There was generally a school attached to the pansal or residence of a Buddhist priest. The children did not all attend at the same period of day but as they had leisure went to the pansal to repeat their lessons and then returned home or went to their employment in some other place. The school was a mere shed open at the sides, with a raised platform in one corner covered with sand on which letters were traced by the finger of the child learning to write. Lessons were usually repeated aloud and were recited in a singing tone, several boys frequently joining in chorus. The alphabet was first learnt and was usually copied on tal leaves; after that the union of vowels and consonants. Then the pupil began to write the letters upon sand, holding in the left hand a piece of wood to erase what had been written. The course of reading included about fourteen books. (1) A name book which was a collection of names of villages, countries, temples, caves, etc.; (2) an enumeration of the various signs and beauties upon the person of Buddha; (3) stanzas in honour of Buddha, Truth etc., with some grammatical rules also; (4) an account of the hirth of Ganesa, etc.,; (5) stanzas in praise of Buddha in Elu, Pali and Sanskrit; (6) Navaratna ("The nine Jewels")—a description and culogy of nine most precious things in the world, the principal of which is Buddha; (7) Sanskrit proverbs with explanations; (8) Sanskrit stanzas in honour of Buddha with explanation; (9) Sanskrit stanzas containing the names of the last twenty-four Buddhas, etc.; (10) Pali

<sup>189</sup> Burma Past and Present, Albert Fytche, p. 205.

<sup>140</sup> R. S. Hardy, Eastern Monachism, pp. 18 and 313 ft.

stanzas in honour of Buddha; (11) Sanskrit stanzas in honour of the Sun; (12) Sanskrit stanzas on the management of the voice in recitation; (13) Pali stanzas in honour of Buddha; (14) the Amarakosa or Sanskrit lexicon, with a Singhalese commentary. There was a course of further studies for those Singhalese students who wanted to prepare themselves for the priesthood or for the medical profession.

In Southern India the Jaina ascetics who established the Digambara sect of Jainism in Tamil land, in Andhra and in Karnataka from the early centuries of the Christian era enriched the three vernacular languages of They did not use the modulated Prakrt forms these three countries. like the Buddhists but used Sanskrit words in their unchanged or tatsama forms in vernacular writing and thus embellished Telegu, Tamil and Kanarese literatures. They also wrote the grammars of these local vernaculars in Sanskrit. They again appear to have started elementary schools for children, as strangely enough we find in Andhra, Tamil and Karnataka and even in Maharastra that the first sentence taught to children in writing varnamala is still the Jaina salutation "Om namah The Telegu people use the formula "Om namah Sivaya, Siddham". Siddham namah".142 "The first part has been added subsequently by the Saivas in the South to obliterate the influence of the Jainas when they

<sup>161</sup> Chullavagga V. 33. 1.

<sup>148</sup> Rāmaswāmi Ayyanger, Andhra-Karņātaka Jajnism. p. 64; also Studies in South Indian Jainism. The latter portion is said to be Buddhist by Mr. Ayyanger but it seems to be Jain.

themselves started Matams and Pāṭhśālās or primary schools in villages and towns." "In Kalinga or Ooriya the formula is "Sidhirastu" which is clearly Jain. 148 In Mahārāṣṭṭa "Śrī Gaṇeśāya namaḥ" is added to "Om namaḥ Siddham." These relics show that formerly the Jain ascetics took a great share in teaching children in the southern countries.

The effect of Muhammadan domination upon these primary schools must have been very considerable. Muhammadanism, at any rate, helped the development of Indian vernaculars and might have given a great impetus not only to the teaching of vernaculars but also to instruction through them. But the growth of a large Muhammadan population might have lessened the number of such Hindu elementary schools and the use of Persian as the official language by the Muhammadan rulers made even Muhammadan teachers in order to Hindus resort to obtain a knowledge of this language and with it the possibility of obtaining Government employment. These Persian elementary schools must then have become numerous in the Muhammadan period. As Abul Fazl, Akbar's personal friend and minister says 144: "In every country, but specially in Hindusthan, boys are kept for years at schools, where they learn the consonants and vowels. A great portion of the life of the student is wasted by making them read many books. His Majesty orders that every school-boy should first learn to write the letters of the alphabet and also learn to trace their various forms. He ought to learn the shape and name of each letter, which may be done in two days, when the boy should proceed to write the joined letters. They may be practised for a week, after which the boy should learn some prose and poetry by heart and then commit to memory some verses to the praise of God or moral sentences, each written separately. Care is to be taken that he learns to understand everything himself but the teacher may assist him a little. He then ought for some time to be daily practised in writing a hemistich or a verse and will soon acquire a current hand. The teacher ought specially to look after five things, knowledge of the letters; meanings of words; the hemistich; the verse; the former lesson. If

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>244</sup> Ain-Akbari (Blochmann and Jarret's edition) p. 278; Gladwin's edition I. 223.

this method of teaching be adopted, a boy will learn in a month or even in a day, what it took others years to understand, so much so that people will get astonished. Every boy ought to read books on morals, arithmetic, the notation peculiar to arithmetic, agriculture, mensuration, geometry, astronomy, physiognomy, household matters, the rules of Government, medicine, logic, the tabî'î, riyāzī and ilāhī sciences and history; all of which may be gradually acquired. In studying Sanskrit students ought to learn the Vyakarana, Niyaī, Vedānta and Patanjal. No one should be allowed to neglect those things which the present time requires." This passage, however, does not refer to Hindu primary schools although it mentions Hindu Sanskrit education. But such schools no doubt continued to exist and would be used by the Hindu trading and agricultural classes.

Pietra della valle<sup>145</sup> who visited India in 1623 thus describes a Hindu primary school in South India: "In the meantime, while the burthens were getting in order, I entertained myself in the porch of the temple, beholding little boys learning arithmetic, after a strange manner, which I will here relate. They were four and having all taken the same lesson from the master, in order to get that same by heart and repeat likewise their former lessons and not forget them, one of them singing musically with a certain continu'd tone (which hath the force of making a deep impression upon the memory) rocited part of the lesson; as for example, "one by itself makes one"; and while he was thus speaking, he writ down the same number, not with any kind of pen, nor on paper but (not to spend paper in vain) with his finger on the ground, the pavement being for that purpose strew'd all over with very fine sand: after the first had writ what he sung, all the rest sung and writ down the same thing together. Then the first boy sung and writ down another part of the lesson; as for example, "two by itself makes two", which all the rest repeated in the same manner and so forward in order. When the pavement was full of figures they put them out with the hand and if need were, strew'd it with new sand from a little heap which they had before them wherewith to write further. And thus they did as long as the exercise

<sup>144</sup> Travels of Pietra delle valle (Hakluyt Society's Publication) II, 227.

continu'd, in which manner likewise, they told me, they learnt to read and write without spoiling paper, pens or ink, which certainly is a pretty way." Mr. William Adam in his Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal (1835-38)<sup>146</sup> mentions that one of the text-books used in the Hindu vernacular schools was Subhankar's rhyming arithmetic rules which he says were evidently composed during the existence of Muhammadan power, as it was full of Persian terms and reference to Muhammadan usages. This shows how even the Hindu elementary schools had to accommodate themselves to some extent to the altered circumstances which were brought about by Moslem rule.

<sup>146</sup> Edited by Rev. J. Long, p. 97.

## CHAPTER V.

# SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE BRAHMANIC SEATS OF LEARNING.

We have already seen that before the upanayana and the commencement of Vedic study the Hindu child did not pass his days idly but received an elementary training in the writing schools in one of which Gautama Buddha received his primary education. But in earlier times the education of the child up to the age of seven seems to have been more in the home than in these schools. But later on when the religious ceremonials were beginning to increase in complexity and the literal sense of the hymns was becoming foreign to the people in general, it became necesary to take precautions for securing and establishing their sense. "To attain these objects" says Weber "those most conversant with the subject were obliged to give instruction to the ignorant and circles were formed around them of travelling scholars who made pilgrimages from one teacher to another according as they were attracted by the fame of special learning". 147

Thus there gradually came into existence a large mass of literature composed by eminent teachers, containing explanations and discussions of various texts and allusions and references to their application to rituals. The Yajurveda and the Brāhmaṇas teem with discussions of the meaning, significance and application to several Vedic passages. These discussions and dissertations were later classified and arranged under different heads. The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa mentions the Anuśāsanas 149 which are commandments issued to the learners of the Veda in conformity with the spirit of these texts; the Vidyās or mystic and sacred lore; Vākovākya or logic; Itihāsa or legendary history; Purāṇa or legendary lore; Nārāśṃsis or verses in commemoration of patrons and heroes; Gāthās or sententious

<sup>147</sup> History of Indian Literature-Weber, p. 21.

<sup>148</sup> Rgveda X. 85, 6.

<sup>149</sup> Sāsana means instruction. C. f. Sāstā (teacher), Sāstrā (treatise), Sādhi (teacher), Anušāstī (teacher).

sentences. The Taittiriya Aranyaka has practically the same list but puts the two last together. 150

It is as a result of this process and further specialisation of the various branches of learning that we have the systematisation of the Vedāngas. The first reference to the Vedāngas is to be found, I believe, in the term Anuśasana, which occurs in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa. Sāyaṇa explains the term as meaning the vedāngas and his explanation is not inherently impossible, as the Vedāngas were then already in the embryo, and it might be included under the general term anuśasana, which literally means only studies and directions auxiliary to the study of the Vedic texts. 151

The earliest of the Vedangas appears to have been Kalpa, which contains not only directions for sacrifices, as is usually believed, but also general rules of conduct and regulations in regard to study and teaching. It is mentioned in the Svetasvatara Upanishad, 152 for instance, that it was laid down in the early Kalpas that knowledge of the highest kind should not be imparted to one who was not calm and tranquil in spirit and who was not a son or resident disciple. The Nirukta was the crystallisation of the discussions stimulated by the spirit of enquiry prevalent in the age of ritualism. The riddle verses of the Atharvaveda represent probably the earliest step in this direction. The Yajurveda has the expression "praśnam etc." and the Brahmana has praśnin, abhipraśnin and praśnavivaka-questioner, cross-questioner and answerer. There can hardly be any reference here to 'parties in law-suit' which is a gratuitous assump-The significance is educational rather than legal. Prasna in course of time, came to denote a section or division of a thesis. Along with the praśnin of the Yajurveda and the Provachika of the Atharvan, we may take the Nirvachana of the Brahmana literature, which is certainly connected etymologically with Nirukta, 158 the science of ctymology. The best known work under this head is that of Yaska, who mentions no

Satapatha Brāhmaņa X. 1; Taitt. Āraņyaka II. 9; Atharvaveda XV. 6. The meanings of these terms are clear from Taitt. Āraņyaka I, 1, 1, 6 etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> As in Taitt. Up. 1, 1, 13.

<sup>182</sup> Svet. Up. VI. 22; c. f. Maitrā. Br. Up. VI. 29.

<sup>153</sup> Nirukta is derived from nirvach to explain.

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fewer than a dozen predecessors of whom Aupamanyava, Arunavabha, Sakapuni and Sthaulashthivi are otherwise known, 154

Of the other Vedangas Sikṣhā and Chhandas are already in evidence through the evolution of Vedic phonology and early works on Chhandas are known to have existed, bearing the names of Yāska and Saitava and on Sikṣhā as preserved in the Māṇḍuki school. The earliest of the existing works is that of Piṇgala Nāga on Metrics and of Vyāsa on Phonetics. Vyākaraṇa had a long history and development before the days of Pāṇini who mentions at least sixty-four distinguished predecessors. In Yāska's day the Vyākaraṇa school of Gārgya stood in opposition to the Nairuktaka school founded by Sākaṭāyana. Stages in the evolution of stellar astronomy are marked by the mention of lunar asterisms and years in the hymns; the solar year, intercalation and cyclic years in the Brāhmaṇas; and the references to planets, vague in the Brāhmaṇas but clear in the Upaniṣhads. All this formed the subject-matter of Vedānga-Jyotisa.

As long as the six Vedangas consisted of short simple treatises there existed only Vedic schools. But as the materials for the study of the subjects included in the six Angas accumulated, such an enormous amount of matter would have to be worked through by the intending students that it evidently became impossible for one student to acquire a mastery of all the subjects and so special schools arose for the study of special subjects. The members of the former devoted their energy to get full and accurate knowledge of the sacred texts together with the accompanying Angas but took very little care to understand the subject matter, so that they became "living libraries"; while the special schools taught their special subjects thoroughly and intelligently. This is made clear by the state of Hindu learning in modern times. It is said that there are men called Vaidics who can recite whole volumes of the Vedic texts. But besides this there are specialists who have an expert knowledge of some part of ancient learning such as the performance of sacrifices, grammar, law or astronomy. This specialisation must have begun in very early times, as the work of grammarians like Panini shows. Thus were formed special schools of grammar, law and astronomy.

<sup>154</sup> Taitt. Br.

These special schools helped in the growth of a vast body of literature bearing on the Vedic texts which were further developed in the various schools of study and interpretation :- Śākhās, Vyūhas and Charanas. There were at least four different schools of Vedic interpretation, known to Yaska: -aitihasika. adhvatmika. adhiyajnika and svabhavika. The traditional learning was preserved and propagated by various families in different parts of the country. The patriarchal Gotras of the Aryas and the Kulas of spiritual teachers became special guardians of the composition of these schools and of the improvements effected by them in the arrangement and order of studies. In course of time, these gave place to new integrations of scholars—teachers and students—in the Charanas. Each Charana or school of Vedic study had its own arrangement of texts, its own manner of application of texts to rituals and its own rules for the conduct and discipline of its members. The relationship by blood characteristic of the Gotra was now replaced by one of cultural relationship and socio-religious observances. In a work named Charanayavyuha (a catalogue of all schools or charanas) there are mentioned five charanas of the Rgveda, twenty-seven of the Black Yajurveda, fifteen of the White Yajurveda, twelve of the Samaveda and nine of the Atharvaveda.

In course of time the sacred books which had to be mastered by the student had increased to a huge bulk and it became necessary to condense convenient form. This literature is their teaching into some known as the Sūtras. These Sūtra schools multiplied rapidly and came to fall into three classes according to their subject teaching. The Srauta Sūtra schools taught the details of ceremonials relating to Vedic sacrifices. Each Veda had its own Srauta Sutras and the noteworthy teacher of them are Aśvalayana and Sankhalayana belonging to the Rgveda, Latyayana and Drahyayana to the Samaveda, Baudhayana, Apasthamba and Hiranyakeshin to the Black Yajurveda and Katyayana to the White Yajurveda. Next come the Dharma Sutra schools which taught the students the customs, manners and laws of the society. Then come the Grhya Sūtra schools which taught the rights and obligations of the son, husband, the wife, the father etc., towards one another and set forth distinct rules for the conduct of each one. The present codes of Manu and Yajñabalkya grew up in one of these Dharma

Sutra schools. The Shulba Sutra schools taught geometry, purely as was required for the preparation of sacrificial altars. All these classes of Sutra school branched off from the school of Kalpa.

In course of time there grew up the different schools of Hindu Law. The notion that Hindu religion is exclusively the source of Hindu law is mainly responsible for the idea too often entertained that Hindu law is incapable of growth but the most superficial student of Hindu law will not fail to observe that in reality its history has been otherwise. Indeed the chief agencies of this development have been custom and the commentaries. These commentaries written either by kings like Aparaka of Konkan or by learned Brahmins have twisted and tortured a text of the Smrti according to the views of justice and practical utility entertained by their authors and according as these views have been accepted in one place and rejected in another, have grown up the different schools of Hindu law. Thus Vijnaneśwara, the author of the Mitaksara, when discussing the text prescribing unequal shares for sons according to priority of birth, lays down the general principle that practices expressly inculcated by the sacred law-codes may become obsolete and should be abandoned if opposed to public opinion. So also Nilkantha, the author of Mayukha in discussing the right of a Sudra to adopt expressly refers on the authority of his own father, to custom as justifying him in the particular interpretation put by him on the following text of Saunaka:-"But a daughter's son and a sister's son are affiliated even by Sūdras". Again relying on custom he comes to the conclusion that a boy can be adopted even after marriage.

Professor Winternitz<sup>155</sup> has profounded the theory that the Arthaśāstra was originally taught in the schools of Dharmaśāstra among the "duties of the king" but at the same time it branched off from the Dharmaśāstra and was taught in separate schools of Arthaśāstra, the reason being that the same teachers appear in the Mahābhārta and elsewhere as authors of both Dharmaśāstras and Arthaśāstras. But Prof. Winternitz ignores the fact that Kautilya's Arthaśāstra itself refers to the existence of Vārta (Economics) and Danda-nīti (Polity) as separate branches of learning which developed very early in separate

<sup>205</sup> Calcutta Review, April, 1924.

schools and the Arthasastra and the Dharmasastra utilised the results of the study of these two branches of learning in those schools. are evidences in Kautilya's Arthasastra showing that treatises on Polity made use of sūtra style. This together with the existence of separate works on Polity, e. g., the Chanakyasūtra and Brhaspatisūtra make it very probable that there was a sutra period in the development of treatises on Polity just as these was a sutra period in the development of the law-codes like that of Manu. It is not, therefore, likely at all that Arthasastras should branch off from the Dharmasastras. It was in the treatises on Dandaniti and Varta that full treatment can be made of the subjects of Polity and Economics. The Dharmsastras made only a very meagre treatment of those subjects because their full treatment was not the province of a code of law. It would, therefore, be proper to hold the view that the Arthasastras and the Dharmasastras developed on parallel lines and just as the Dharmasastras had a sutra period, so also the branches of learning-Varta and Dandaniti-utilised by the Arthasastras passed through a similar sutra period and could well have been contemporaneous with the works of the corresponding stages of development of the Dharmaśāstras.

The growth of these special schools began not later than the 5th century B. C.<sup>156</sup> It is thought that Law became a special subject of study at a somewhat later date than Grammar or Astronomy. But even in the Rāmāyaṇa and in some of Dharmasūtras there are traces that the specialisation had already begun. Thus in the Rāmāyaṇa<sup>157</sup> we find a reference to professors of the Tattirīya branch and to students who are specialising in the Kaṭha branch of Vedic studies. On the eve of his journey to Daṇḍakāraṇya Rāma ordered Lakṣhmaṇa to make various gifts to such men living under his protection.<sup>158</sup> Reference to paṇḍits who have specialised in Vedic learning, in the Purāṇas, Swara-lakshmaṇa, in the science of music, in Chhanda-lakṣhmaṇa,

<sup>156</sup> For the beginnings of specialisation, see Buhler, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXV. (The Law code of Manu), p. XLVI ff.

<sup>157</sup> Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 32nd Sarga.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

in Samudrk laksmana, in Tala, in Astrology, in Kalpasutra, in sacrificial ceremonies, in Logic, in Grammar, etc., authors of books on a painting (Chitra-Kabya-praneta) is also to be found. 159 Rama brought all of them in connection with his sacrifice and then summoned Kuśa and Laba to sing Ramayana in their presence. 160 Again in Gautama 161 regarding the composition of the Parisad we find that besides the men who have completely studied the Veda, there are those who know the different Dharmasūtras, besides the three representatives of the first three asramas. In Vasistha<sup>162</sup> and Baudhayana, <sup>168</sup> the three specialists are student of the Mimansa, that is, one who knows the sacrificial rules, one who knows the Angas and one who recites the works on the sacred law. In Manu<sup>164</sup> those who know the Vedas are reduced to three and the specialists are a Logician, a Mimansaka, one who knows the Nirukta and one who recites the Institutes of the sacred law. Similarly we find in Vasistha Samhita165 the following specialists who along with others are called the sanctifiers of the rows of learned Brahmins: - one who knows the text of the four sacrifices (Aśyamedha, Purushamedha, Sarvameda and Pitrmedha), one who knows Vajasena (branch of the White Yajurveda), one who knows the six Angas, one who knows Chhandas (Vedic metre) and the brahmana who studies the sacred law treatises.

These Vedic schools and Special schools were run by a teacher who admitted to his family as many pupils as he could manage. Such teachers were householders. To them students came from all sides "as water runs downwards, as months go to the year". 186 In a hymn of the Rgveda167 there is a reference to such a school which compares the meeting together of the teacher and the taught with the gathering of the frogs in the rainy season : -

<sup>150</sup> Ramayana, Uttarakanda, 94th Sarga.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> III. 20.

<sup>104</sup> XII. 110-112.

<sup>100</sup> Taittiriya Upanishad I. 4. 3.

<sup>107</sup> Rayeds VII. 103. Griffith's translation.

<sup>161</sup> Chapter XXIX,

<sup>168</sup> i. 1, 5-13.

<sup>165</sup> III. 19.

"Each of these twain receives the other kindly,
while they are revelling in the flow of waters.
When the frog moistened by the rain springs forward
and Green and Spotty both combine their voices.
When one of these repeats the other's language, as he who
learns the lesson of the teacher,
Your every limb seems to be growing larger, as ye
converse with eloquence on the waters,"

That such seats of learning continued to be popular down to the time of Harsa Siladitya will be evident from Bāṇa's Harsacharita where a province is described as being resorted to quite joyfully by multitudes of people "like a school by pupils". Bāṇa, 168 greeted by his numerous relatives, on his return from Harsa's court made among others the following enquiries: "Do the boys pursue their studies at the proper time? Is there the same unbroken daily application to the Veda? The old earnestness in the practice of the art of sacrifice? Are there the same classes in grammar exposition, showing respect by days not idly spent in series of emulous disscussions? Is there the old logic society, regardless of all other occupation? The same excessive delight in the Mīmānsā, dulling all pleasure in other authoritative books?"

But the most important seats of learning were the Brahmanic settlements and in connection with them Parisads or assemblies of learned brahmins who gave decisions on all points connected with the Brahmanic religion and learning. These were in some respects like judicial assemblies on and in others like ecclesiastical synods that as those who composed them were most of them also teachers, they corresponded to a certain extent to the associations of teachers in the Middle Ages of Europe which developed into Universities. The settlement of brahmins proficient in different branches of the ancient learning in various centres must have meant the gathering together

<sup>&#</sup>x27;108 Harşacharit—Cowell and Thomas, p. 71.

<sup>169</sup> Civilisation in Ancient India—R. C. Dutt, Vol. I. p. 163.

<sup>170</sup> Manu XII. 110; Vasistha III; Gautama XXIX; Parasara VIII. 6-7.

<sup>171</sup> Yajfibalkya I. 9.

also of a number of students who were receiving instruction from them, and thus these Parisads would form the nucleus of something corresponding to a University. In the Brhadaranyaka Upanishad<sup>172</sup> we read that Svetaketu went to the Parisad of the Panchalas. King Pravahana Jaibali was the member of Panchala Parishad of scholars which he attended every day.

Max Muller says 173 that according to modern writers a Parisad ought to consist of twenty-one brahmins, well versed in philosophy, theology and law. But in early times it seems that a smaller number would have been sufficient. According to Manu174 "Whatever an assembly of ten or three qualified brahmins, faithful to their duties, shall lay down as the law, must be accepted as such. Such an assembly shall consist of at least ten brahmanas consisting of three persons who each know one of the three principal Vedas, a Logician, a Mimamsaka, one who knows the Nirukta, one who recites the institutes of the sacred law and three men belonging to the first three asramas. One who knows the Yajurveda, one who knows the Samaveda shall be known to form an assembly consisting of at least three members and competent to decide doubtful points of law." According to Gautama<sup>175</sup> "All matters of doubt should be submitted to the deliberations of at least ten honest, greedless, impartial men of wisdom of the following type for settlement: Four of them must be brahmins well-versed in the Vedas; one member of good conduct from each of the following orders, viz., brahmacharins, householders and vanaprasthas and three men who know the different institutes of law. A council consisting of the aforesaid type is called a Parisad." According to Vasistha.<sup>176</sup> "Four men who each know one of the four Vedas, one who knows Mimansa, one who knows the Angas, a preceptor of the sacred law and three leading men of the first three asramas constitute a Parisad consisting of at least ten (members)." According to Baudhāyana<sup>177</sup> "it shall consist ten members consisting of four men

<sup>179</sup> VI. 2.

<sup>178</sup> History of Sanskrit Literature—Max Muller, pp. 128-132.

<sup>174</sup> Manu XII. 110-112.

<sup>175</sup> Chapter XXIX.

<sup>176</sup> III. 20.

<sup>177</sup> i, 1, 5-13.

who each know one of the four Vedas, one well-versed in Mimansa. one who knows the Angas and three brahmins belonging to the first three zsramas." According to Yajñabalkya178 "Four persons well-read in the Vedas and religious codes or a number of brahmins versed in the three Vedas, form a synod. Whatever this synod or a person foremost among those well-versed in spiritual science declares is religion." According to Parasara<sup>179</sup> "An assembly consisting of three or five brahmins who are well-versed in the Vedas and Vedangas even without consecrating the sacred fire is called a Parisad. Even a single brahmin who is a muni with a knowledge of his self and devoted to prayers. performances of Vedic sacrifices and ceremonial oblations, may constitute a Parisad in his individual capacity. In the absence of five brahmins of the aforesaid type, an assembly consisting of brahmins who are content with their own profession should be regarded as a Further we are told "He who is well-versed in the four Parisad." Vedas and Vedangas, who studies the scriptures and has got a mind free from all hesitations or waverings should be regarded as constituting the best Parisad in his individual self. In the absence of such a man, a council consisting of ten brahmana householders should be reckoned as a Parisad of the middling class."180 These details about the composition. of the assembly are interesting as showing how specialisation in Vedicstudy had begun in very early times. It is equally interesting to find that not only were the different faculties represented in this nucleus. of a University but even a student (brahmacharin) was a member of the Parisad.

Some of the centres of learning were the hermitages of rsis or other learned men who retired to the forests in their old age. We learn from Buddhist literature that the Buddha after stealing away from his father's palace went to the hermitage of one of the ascetics living in the forest near the Rajagrha hills, Alara Kalama by name. He taught Gautama the doctrine of nothingness. Gautama describes his progress thus: "Very speedily I learned the doctrine and so far as concerns uttering with mouths

<sup>178</sup> I. 9.

<sup>180</sup> Parasara VIII. 34.

and lips the words, "I know, I understand", I and others with me knew the word of wisdom and ancient lore. Then the thought occurred to me "When Alara Kalama declares: "Having myself realised and known this doctrine, I abide in the attainment thereof", it cannot all be a mere profession of faith; surely Alara Kalama sees and knows this doctrine."

Knowledge in ancient India was not a mere matter for memory, study or intellectual apprehension, it was something to be realised and lived. Thus the Buddha strove hard to reach as far as his teacher in that doctrine so as ultimately "to dwell in the attainment of a knowledge and realisation thereof". He achieved success in his efforts in no long time, whereupon his: teacher unable to contain himself, burst out as follows: friend, are we; yea, doubly happy, in that we look upon such a venerable one, such a fellow-ascetic as thee! The doctrine which I know, that thou knowest; and the doctrine which thou knowest, that I know. As I am, so art thou; as thou art, so am I. Come friend, you and I together lead this company of ascetics". Thus did the teacher put his pupil "on a perfect level with himself, so honouring him with exceeding great honour". But Gautama could not remain satisfied with that doctrine and seeking the highest good, the incomparable path to Peace Supreme, he sought another teacher and went where dwelt Uddaka, the disciple of Rama and thus addressed him: "I wish, friend, to lead the ascetic life under this discipline and doctrine". As before he "speedily acquired this doctrine so far as concerns lip-profession" and later on achieved sufficient mastery to be able "to abide in a realisation and knowledge of the doctrine" and was treated by his teacher as fully his equal. With the knowlege and training in Yoga received from his brahmana teachers, the Buddha then resolved to depend upon himself for his further progress and retired to the jungles of Uruvela near the present temple of Bodh Gaya. There he "spied a beautiful secluded spot among the trees, with a pleasant, shallow clear-flowing river close by, easily accessible, with field and pastures all around" and immediately settled down, saying "this suits well for effort". Early Buddhism with its scheme for self-suppression was not dead to the objective beauty of Nature as an aid to the inner spiritual life.

An idea of the free academic life and the variety and catholicity of studies in these hermitages will be evident from the description given in the Mahābhārata <sup>181</sup> of the hermitage of Kanva. It was situated on the bank of the Mālinī river and there many rsis were reciting the hymns of the Rgveda and many others were singing passages from the Sāmaveda and the Atharvaveda. In another part of the hermitage rsis who had seen the end of various śāstras like the Purāṇas, Nyāya, Tatva, Ātmaviveka, Śābdaśāstra, the Vedas with their Vedāngas and who were well-versed in the science of matter with its actions and qualities, in the speech of birds and lower animals were discussing with one other the subtle points of their respective branches of study. Followers of Buddhism also were studying their own sacred texts.

The rsis who lived in these hermitages were not all lonely recluses or celibate anchorites cut off from the soceity of women and the family. Some of them formed family groups, living with their wives and children, but not pursuing wealth or fame or material advancement like ordinary householders. Thus they lived in the world but were not of it. They had frequent touch with the cities and the royal court by means of respectful invitations to the domestic ceremonies of the kings and rich men and the visits made by the latter to their hermitages in a spirit of pilgrimage. Their pupils included their own children and also boys from the busy world, who lived with the hermits, shared their toils, studied under them and served them like their own sons. Then after finishing their education they would bow down to the guru, pay their dakshina and come to the busy world to take places among the men of action. In the calm of these sylvan retreats learning was thus fostered by the rsis who were maintained in learned leisure partly. by their pupils' foraging in the woods and fields and partly by the gifter rest. of kings and rich householders.

These hermitages were, indeed, as effectual for the promotive days knowledge as the cathedrals of Mediæval Europe, but wither than unnatural monachism of the latter. Lecky<sup>182</sup> thus rerusition by the a hard shell.

<sup>161</sup> Adi Parva, 70th Adhyaya.

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<sup>102</sup> History of European Morals, cabinet edition, II. 137, 334-35. could go without

The sanskrit poets like Kalidas, Bhababhūti and others love to depict the beautiful surroundings of these hermitages and the simple life of their inhabitants in contact with both animate and inanimate Nature. The Parasara Samhita 183 describes the Badarikasrama of Parasara, son of Sakri, father of the holy Vyāsa, thus: "Trees of wonderful fruit and foliage enhanced the beauty of that holy forest where fountains and rivulets of crystal flow ran babbling into sacred pools. Herds of deer were found to roam about and birds of beautiful plumage were heard to join their melodious notes in a chorus of harmony". It is also a noteworthy fact that in each of the places of preaching and places of his retreat the Buddha preferred the forest near by to the city itself. Thus at Rajagrha he would reside in the Veluvana or Yastivasa or the elaMruvela village; at Sravasti there were the famous Jetavana and its he haborately constructed vihara, as well as the Pubharama; at Kausambi, with itsed the Ghositarama at his disposal; at Vaisali he had the Mahavana or Amrapaa Kutagara hall and for his second residence the mango-grove has its Nyagli; at Pava he would stay in Chunda's mango-grove; Kapilavastu Hence the remrodha grove, and Benares had its deer-park at Isipatana. ark of Dr. Rabindranath 184 "A most wonderful thing 188 I. 6-7.

<sup>184</sup> Biswa-bhārati Qu

that we notice in India is that there the forest, not the town, is the fountain-head of civilisation. Wherever in India its earliest and most wonderful manifestations are noticed, we find that there men have not come into so close a contact as to be rolled or pushed into a compact body or mass or whole. There, trees and plants, rivers and lakes, had an ample opportunity to live in close relationship with men. In these forests, though there was human society, there was enough of open space or sloofness; there was no jostling. Still this sloofness did not produce an inertness in the Indian mind; on the other hand it rendered it all the brighter. It is the forest that has nurtured the great ancient sages of India, the Vedic and the Buddhistic. Not only the Vedic rsis but Lord Buddha also preached in many woods of India. palace had no room for him, it was the forest that took him into its lap. The current of civilisation that flowed from the forest inundated the whole of India".

"Here is an Indian ideal that it would be well to revive, for this planting of universities in the midst of great cities is European and not Indian. Oxford and Cambridge alone in England have kept up the tradition of their Aryan forefathers. The modern "Civic Universities" as they are called, are planted in the midst of the most tumultuous, hurrying noisy cities in England. Not from them will come sublime philosophies or artistic master-pieces, but they will doubtless produce men of inventive genius, miracles of machinery, new ways of annihilating space. But in a country in which a man is valued for what he is, not for what he has, in which a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth, the Indian ideal is the most suitable. The essence of that Ideal is not the forest as such but the being in close touch with Nature; to let her harmonies permeate the consciousness and her calm soothe the restlessness of the mind. Hence it was the forest. which best suited the type and the object of the instruction in the days which evolved rsis; instruction which aimed at profound rather than at swift and alert thought; which cared not for lucid exposition by the teacher, but presented to the pupil, a kernel of truth in a hard shell, which he must crack unassisted with his own strong teeth if he would enjoy the kernel; if he could not break the shell, he could go without

the fruit; instruction which thought less of an accumulation of facts poured out into the pupil's memory than of the drawing out in him the faculty which could discover the truth, hidden beneath a mass of irrelevancies; of such fruitful study the Hindu Aśrama in the forest is the symbol".185

<sup>185</sup> Kamala Lectures, 1925—Annie Beasant, pp. 26-27.

#### CHAPTER VI.

THE ORGANISATION OF SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE BRAHMANIC SEATS OF LEARNING.

An idea of the educational organisation of the Brahmanic seats of learning can be formed from an intelligent study of the Brahmanas and the Upanishads but more fully from that of the Srautasūtras, the Grhyasūtras, the Dharmasūtras and the Dharmasūtras.

# § 1.—THE IMPORTANCE OF A TEACHER IN EDUCATION.

The Upanishads fully recognise the futility of mere self-study. the Katha Upanishad 188 the teacher is represented as indispensible to knowledge: "Apart from the teacher there is no access here". The Mundaka Upanishad 187 says "Let him in order to understand this, take fuel in his hand and approach a Guru who is learned and dwells entirely in Brahman". Again, "Not by self-study is the atman realised, not by mental power, nor by amassing much information". 188 That a teacher is necessary to disperse the mist of empirically acquired knowledge from our eyes is explained beautifully in the following passage from the Chandogya Upanishad: 189 "Precisely, my dear Sir, as a man who has been brought blind-fold from the country of Gandhara and then set at liberty in the desert, goes astray to the east, north or south, because he has been brought thither blind-fold and blind-fold set at liberty; but after that some one has taken off the bondage and has told him "In this direction Gandhara lies, go in this direction", instructed and prudent. asking the road from village to village, he find his way home to Gandhara: even so the man, who in this world has met with a teacher becomes conscious, 'To this (transitory world) shall I belong only until the time of my release, thereafter shall I go home,". In the Satapatha Samhita 190 we are told that "the pilferer of learning and books is born dumb". In the Mahabharata 191 there is a story of Yavakrta who studied the

<sup>186</sup> II. S.

II. 8. 187 I. 2. 12.

<sup>188</sup> III. 2. 3.

<sup>189</sup> VI. 14, 1-2.

<sup>100</sup> IV. 22.

<sup>191</sup> Banaparva 134th and 137th Adhyayas.

Vedas without a Guru and then had to suffer a lot of misery for that. Indeed the Vedas cannot be wellread even from mere books (because of the accents), much less learnt. From a teacher alone one can learn the proper pronunciation. Hence it became the custom that only from a teacher one should learn and the people believed that the lore learned from a teacher could alone be successful and beneficial.

# § 2.—THE SELECTION AND ADMISSION OF STUDENTS.

There was the custom of selecting students for admission into the school. According to Manu 192 the teacher should select only ten classes of pupils for instruction—the son of one's teacher, one who did personal service, one who taught some other subject, a good man, a man pure in mind and heart, a reliable friend, one capable of comprehending and applying the knowledge acquired, a patron and a recluse. Usana Samhita 198 says: "An Acharya's son, one who wishes to hear attentively, one who has given knowledge (in any other subject), a virtuous person, a person pure in body and mind, a relative, one who is capable of understanding the scriptures, one who is liberal in giving away money, a good man and a kinsman-these ten should be taught according to the rules of religious teaching. A Kshatriya who is grateful, shorn of malice, intelligent and always doing good; a Vaisya, endowed with similar qualifications, a grateful Brahmana, a noninjuring Brahmana, an intelligent Brahmana and a Brahmana doing good unto all—these six should also be taught by the leading twice-born ones. Even though it be quite contrary to the established rules of religious instruction, when a Bipra, invested with the sacred thread by another, comes he should be taught. Instruction in the Vedas should be given to those only and not to any one else; so it is said." According to Yajñabalkya Samhita 194 "The grateful, the submissive, the intelligent, the pure, those who do not suffer from mental and physical ailments, those who are shorn of jealousy, the good-natured, those who are clever in serving friends, those who distribute learning and riches, are worthy of receiving religious instructions". According to Sukracharya 195

<sup>192</sup> II. 138, 240, 241.

<sup>194</sup> I. 28.

<sup>198</sup> III. 35-37.

<sup>198</sup> Sukranitisara, Ch. III. line 637.

4.

"one should, educate his own child as well as other's children but not the offenders". From Usana Samhita 196 we learn that the student used to live in the house of his teacher without being taught for some time. During this period the teacher had enough opportunity to test or examine his pupil. He would give him instructions in Vedic study only when he thought the pupil fit for it. If the pupil had anything wrong in his conduct the teacher during this one year would correct him his faults and then teach him. The Indian teacher was thus not a believer in making higher education open to all; he imparted instruction to a student only when he was duly qualified for it by his character and capacity, by his heredity and environment. To those times may be applied the observations made recently by Lord Hugh Cecil: "Uniformity is the essence of any and every system, whereas infinite variety and infinite irregularities are the characteristics of people. The only education, therefore, that deserves the name or is really beneficial, is that which ministers to individual capacity and personality. When that connection and response are lacking, teaching and being taught are a funeral waste of time."197

# § 3.—THE INITIATION CEREMONY: THE SYMBOL OF ADMISSION AS A STUDENT.

In the Atharvaveda <sup>198</sup> there is a mystic hymn which describes the Sun or the primeval principle, under the figure of a Brāhmaṇa student who brings firewood (samidh) and alms for his teacher. This offering of sacrificial fire to a teacher became the regular way by which a youth sought to be recognised as his pupil and implied a desire to partake in his domestic sacrifice and to accept the duty of helping to maintain it. <sup>199</sup> This is the earliest reference to Upanayanam. In the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa we are given a line of teachers who have transmitted the sacrificial science to that time. <sup>200</sup> This line is traced back to

<sup>196</sup> III. 33-34.

<sup>197</sup> Sunday Times, London, August 7, 1925.

<sup>1</sup> vs XI. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> Kaus. Up. IV. 19; Chandogya Up. IV. 5; V. 13, 17; VIII. 7. 2; X. Mundaka Up. I. 2. 12; Prasna Up. I. 1.

soo Satapatha Brahmana X, 6, 5, 9.

Prajapati (the creator) and Brahmana students are spoken of as guarding their teacher, his house and cattle, lest he should be taken away from them. 301 There are references also to a lad going to a teacher with firewood in his hand and asking to become his pupil 209. This book contains an account of the Upanayana (initiation) ceremony of a Brahmana student. 208 He is made to say to the preceptor "I have come for brahmacharya (studentship); let me be a brahmachari (student)". The request to be received by the preceptor was to be duly made i. e., according to the Brhadaranyaka Upanishad 204 with the words "Upaimyaham vabantam ".205 Before receiving him, the teacher makes enquiry into his name, his birth and family. Satvakama Jabala going to Gautama Haridrumata said to him: "I wish to become a brahmacharin with you, Sir. May I come to you, Sir?" He said to him: "of what family are you, my friend?"906 The manner of enquiry shows that it was made in a very indulgent fashion and the uncertainty regarding his parentage was not in actual practice admitted as a bar to the teacher's acceptance of the pupil.

The duties pertaining to his new life are now impressed upon the student: "Put fuel into fire. Cleanse internally with water. Do service. Do not sleep in day-time."207 He was enjoined to move along the Sun's course after Him, symbolising the teaching to follow Nature and her forces as far as possible. He was made to tread on a stone; he was to be 'firm like a stone' and overcome his foes—the temptations within and the slanderers without. The food taken by him was to make him 'strong. long-lived and covered with splendour'. The teacher then touches the chest of the boy with his fingers upwards and repeats the words 208: "Thy heart shall dwell in my heart; my mind thou shalt follow with all thy heart; may Brhaspati join thee to me." "To me alone thou shalt adhere. In me thy thoughts shall dwell. Upon me thy veneration shall be bent. inteWhen I speak thou shalt be silent." "May I be dear to thee; let us.

ailmel 01 Ibid., III. 2, 6, 15. clever it. Ibid., XI. 5, 4.

worthy of f. vidhivat in Mundaka Up. I. 1, 3.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid., XI. 4, 1, 9.

<sup>204</sup> VI. 2, 7.

<sup>206</sup> Chandogya Up. IV. 4, 4.

ā mā Susupthāh (Mantrapātha, II, 6, 14). 193 II. 138, 2 vpnotism induced into the boy stronger personality.

<sup>194</sup> I. 28.

dwell here in breath and life." After these prayers for concord the teacher bestows on him the blessing. "The bliss in which the Fire, the Sun, the Moon and the Waters go their way, even in that bliss go thou that way. Thou hast become the pupil of Breath. May Indra, Saraswati and the Aswins bestow intelligence on thee." For himself, the teacher prays that he may through his pupil, "become rich in holy lustre." The ceremonial is equally impressive in all the texts; the only point of difference is that instead of styling him "the pupil of life" one text has the reading "the pupil of Kama." 209

In course of time the sacred thread came to be used for the performance In the Satapatha Biahmana<sup>211</sup> it is told that the god and the father went to Prajapati, wearing the 'sacrificial cord': and also in the Kaushitaki Upanishad 212 the all-conquered Kaushitaki adores the Sun at its rise having put on the 'sacrificial cord'. The spiritual significance of the details of the Upanayana ceremony is thus indicated in the Satapatha Brāhmana:213 "The teacher lays his right hand on the head of the pupil whereby he becomes pregnant with him 214 and then in the third night the embryo issues out of the teacher and being taught the Savitri obtains true Brāhmanhood". 215 "He is like a divine creature born from his teacher's mouth". 216 Sāmkha Samhitā 217 says "Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas are the three twice-born castes: their second birth takes place on the occasion of putting on the girdle of sacred rush. On his second birth symbolised by the wearing of the sacred girdle, the preceptor of a Brahmana, Kshatriya or Vaisya who imparts the Gayatri Mantra, should be regarded as his father, while the Mantra itself should be looked upon as fulfilling the office of his mother. Until the commencement of his study of the Vedas, a Brahmana continues in the status of a Sudra; he becomes a

<sup>209</sup> Samkhyayana, IV, 4, 2.

It was called the 'Yajñopabīta' i. e., the sacrificial cord. The followers of Avesta also uses such a cord at the worship of Fire.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>211</sup> II. 4. 2.

<sup>213</sup> II. 7.

<sup>913</sup> XI. 5. 4.

<sup>214</sup> Tena garvi bhabati.

<sup>215</sup> For fuller explanations see Sayana's commentary.

<sup>216</sup> Satapatha Brahmana XI. 5. 4. 17.

<sup>\*17</sup> I. 6-8; c. f. Vishnu Samhita XXVIII. 37-40.

twice-born after that". Vyasa Samhita 218 says "Brahmanas, Kshatriyas and Vaisvas are called the twice-born. Their first birth takes place when they are delivered of their mother's womb; their second, when they duly accept Gayatri Mantra from their preceptors". Vasistha Samhita 219 says "Their first birth is from their mother and the second from the investiture of the sacred girdle. There (i. e. in the second birth) Savitri is the mother and the preceptor is said to be the father. They call the preceptor the father because he gives instructions in the Veda. They quote the following example:-Indeed the virile energy of a man learned in spiritual science, is of two sorts. that which is above the navel and the other such is situated below; through that which is above the navel his offspring is produced when he invests one with the sacred thread and makes him holy. By that which resides below his navel, the children of his body are produced on their mother. Therefore they should never say to a Srotriya who teaches the Veda 'Thou art destitute of a son'. Harit quotes the following verse:-"There is no religious rite for a child of the twice-born before he has been invested with the sacred girdle. His conduct shall be known as equal to that of a Sudra before his new birth from the Veda. (The above prohibition relates to all rites except those connected with libations of water, the exclamation Swaha and the rites to departed names)" Vishnu Samhita 920 says "The birth of a child in its mother's womb through the union of its parents, out of carnal desire, is a mere organic existence, which he has in common with the beasts. The birth which his teacher, conversant with the Vedas, effects for him, by uttering the Savitri Mantra is the only true, deathless, decayless existence".

In the older Upanishads we come across the prohibition to communicate a doctrine or ceremony to any one except a son or a pupil adopted by the rite of Upanayanam. According to the Aitareya Aranyaka <sup>221</sup> the mystical meaning of the combinations of letters must be "communicated to no one who is not a pupil, who has not been a pupil for a whole year, who does not propose himself to be a teacher". Again the Chandogya Upanishad <sup>222</sup> states: "A father may, therefore, tell that doctrine (i. e.,

<sup>918</sup> I. 20-21.

<sup>819</sup> Ch. II.

<sup>920</sup> XXX 45-46

<sup>##1</sup> III, 2, 6, 9,

<sup>222</sup> III, 2, 5.

the doctrine of Brahman as the sun of the universe) to his eldest son or to a worthy pupil. But no one should tell it to any body else, even if he gave him the whole sea-girt earth, full of treasure". In the Brhadaranyaka Upanishad 228 we are told that the ceremony of the mixed drink, must be communicated to none but a son or a pupil. Similarly the Svetāsvatara Upanishad 224 says: "This highest mystery in the Vedanta delivered in a former age should not be given to one whose passions have not been subdued nor to one who is not a son or who is not a pupil". And the Maitrayaniya Upanishad: 225 "Let no man preach this most secret doctrine to any one who is not his son or his pupil". So great was the importance put on this Upanayanam that according to Vishnu Samhita 226 "to suffer one's self to remain uninitiated beyond the proper age-limit (vrātyata) is one of the Upapātakas", and "such a Vratya is to be avoided". 227 Manu 228 speaks in the same strain: "A Brahmana even in time of distress, must not hold any connection with these Vratyas, not duly expiated according to regulation, either by marriage or by Vedic study".

We accordingly find men and gods taking fuel in their hands and submitting to the conditions of pupilage. The Chāndogya Upaniṣhad <sup>299</sup> relates how Indra himself was obliged to live with Prajāpati as a pupil for 101 years in order to obtain the perfect instruction. In the Kauṣitaki Upaniṣhad <sup>230</sup> Āruṇi takes fuel in his hand and becomes a pupil of Citra Gāngyāyani. In the Bṛhadāraṇyaka <sup>231</sup> Gārga says to Ajātaśatru: "Then let me come to you as a pupil". In the Praśna Upaniṣhad <sup>232</sup> Sukeśas, Satyakāma, Sauryāyaṇin, Kauśalya, Vaidarbhi and Kabandhiṇ take fuel in their hands to become pupils of Pippalāda.

At the same time the evidence seems to indicate that a formal pupilage was not absolutely binding in the earlier period. Thus in the Chandogya 233 it is merely said that "the knowledge which is gained

<sup>228</sup> VI. 3, 12.

<sup>224</sup> VI. 22, 225 VI. 29,

<sup>925</sup> VI. 29. 926 XXXVII, 19. 926 II. 40.

<sup>227</sup> Vişhnu Samhitā LVII. 1-2.

<sup>289</sup> V. S. 250 I. 1.

<sup>253</sup> IV. 9. 3.

<sup>281</sup> II. 1-14.

from a teacher (as opposed to supernatural instruction by beasts, fire, geese or ducks) leads most certainly to the goal". In another passage 284 the King Asvapati, instructs the six brahmanas who approach him with fuel in their hands anupaniya i. e., "without first admitting them as his pupil or demanding any preparatory rites". In still another passage \*\*\* we read: "There lived once Svetaketu Aruneva. To him his father (Uddalaka, the son of Aruna) said "Svetaketu, go to school; for there is none belonging to our race, darling, who not having studied the Veda is, as it were, a brahmana by birth only". From this remark it may reasonably be inferred that at that time entrance upon the life of a brahmana-student while it was a commendable custom, was not yet universally enjoined upon brahmanas. Again in the Brhadaranyaka 286 Yajñabalkya instructs his wife Maitreyi when she was not strictly his pupil; he also teaches King Janaka 237 when he was not strictly his pupil: he also imparts knowledge on the deepest problems (e. g., in the conversation with Gargi) 288 in the presence of a numerous circle of hearers; and only exceptionally, when he desires to explain to Artabhaga \*\*\* the mystery of the soul's transmigration, does he retire with him into privacy.

It is also evident from the passages just cited that it was possible in those days for a man to receive instruction from his father or from other teachers. Svetaketu did both.<sup>240</sup> The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa <sup>241</sup> shows that the Brāhmaṇa was expected to instruct his own son in both study and spiritual ritual and furnishes an illustration of this in Varuṇa, the teacher of his son Bhṛgu. This fact is also borne out by the evidence of some of the names in the Vaṃśa Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma Veda and the Vaṃśa or list of teachers of the Sāṃkhyāyana Āraṇyoka.<sup>242</sup> It should, however, be noted that these Vaṃśas and those of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa also show that a father often preferred that his son should have a famous teacher.

<sup>284</sup> Chandogya Upanishad V. 11. 7.

<sup>255</sup> Chandogya Upanishad VI. 1. 1.

<sup>986</sup> II. 4.

<sup>257</sup> Bihad. Up. IV. 1-2, 3-4.

<sup>938</sup> Brhad. Up. III. 8.

Bihad. Up. III. 2. 13.

Chāndogya Up. V. 3. 1; Bṛhad. Up. VI. 2. 1; Kauś. Up. I. 1; and Chāndogya Up. VI. 1. 1.

<sup>941</sup> I. 6, 2. 4,

<sup>242</sup> XV. 1.

# § 4.—THE AGE TO COMMENCE VEDIC STUDIES.

The age at which such studentship commenced probably varied from time to time. Thus Svetaketu "began his apprenticeship with a teacher when he was twelve years of age ".248 According to Vishnu Purana 244 "the period from birth to the fifth year was regarded as the time for play. After which the time for study commenced". The initiation ceremony which marked the beginning of a boy's student-life was fixed by Manu 245 at the 8th, the 11th and the 12th year in the case of a Brahmana, Kshatriya or a Vaisya boy respectively. But it might take place between 8 and 16 in the case of a Brahmana, between 11 and 22 in the case of Kshatriya and between 12 and 24 in the case of Vaisya.248 Gautama 247 says "The initiation of a Brahmana boy shall ordinarily take place in his 8th year. It may also be performed in the ninth or fifth year for the fulfilment of some particular wish. The number of years is to be calculated from conception. That initiation is the second birth......The initiation of a Kshatriya shall ordinarily take place in the eleventh year after conception, and that of a Vaisya in the twelvth. Up to the 16th year the time for the Savitri (initiation) of a Brahmana boy has not passed. Nor (for the initiation) of a Kshatriya up to the 20th year. And the limit for that of a Vaisva extends two years beyond the latter term". According to Yajñabalkya 248 "the Upanayana of a Brahmana is performed in the eight year (continuing from the time) of conception, that of a Kshatriya, in the eleventh or according to the practices of the family". "The period up to the sixteenth, twenty-second and the twenty-fourth is laid down as the time for Upanayanam respectively for the Brahmana, Kshatriya and the Vaisya".249 According to Usana Samhita 250 the investiture of the foremost of the twice-born should take place in the eighth year, either counting from the period of conception or from the date of birth, according to the regulation laid down in one's own family

<sup>\*43</sup> Chandogya Up. VI. 1. 2.

<sup>944</sup> Part I. XII. 18.

<sup>946</sup> Manu II, 38.

<sup>246</sup> I. 14.

<sup>250</sup> T. 4.

<sup>945</sup> II. 36.

<sup>947</sup> I. 5-14.

<sup>249</sup> Yājāsbālkyā Samhitā I. 37.

code of rites. According to Vyasa, <sup>251</sup> Samkhya, <sup>252</sup> Vasistha <sup>258</sup> and Vishnu <sup>254</sup> Samhitas "the son of a Brahmana should be invested with the holy thread at the eighth year of his age reckoned from the period of his inter-uterine life. Similarly, the investiture with the holy thread in the case of a Kshatriya or Vaisya child should be made at the eleventh and twelvth year respectively".

The age fixed was no doubt regarded as the ideal to be aimed at, though we see that considerable latitude was provided for. A young Brahmana was thus about seven years of age (according to our reckoning) when he entered upon the obligations of studentship and this age is that which has been considered a suitable one by many educationists as then the brain has its physical form fully developed. It was expressly provided in a later verse that a child should not be made to recite Vedic verse before initiation. Why a later age was provided for Kshatriyas and Vaiyas sis not quite clear. They were of course, not expected to attain to the same proficiency in the Vedic lore as the young Brahmana, as he alone could perform the sacrifical ritual, and certain portions of the sacred knowledge were reserved for him and their course was, therefore, it may be supposed, not expected to last as long as his. But in this case we should have expected them to have started at the same time and to have left their studentship at an earlier age, especially as they had also to learn their own particular crafts. At seems probable, however, that the difference in age was to emphasise the supposed intellectual superiority of the Brahmana who was thus ready to begin the study at a younger age than his non-Brahmana fellows; or the difference was deemed necessary as the young Brahmana in nine cases out of ten commenced his study at home with his father while his non-Brahmana fellows were to leave their home and to live with their teacher away from their parents or guardians, for which an older age was quite suitable.

The Upanayana ceremony of a Brahmana takes place in spring, that, of a Kshatriya in summer and that of a Vaisya in autumn.<sup>255</sup>

<sup>##1</sup> I. 19.

<sup>252</sup> II. 6.

<sup>255</sup> Ch. X.

<sup>954</sup> XXVII. 15-17.

<sup>255</sup> Indische Studien-Weber, Vol. X. p. 22.

It may be noted in this connection that a mystic significance was attached not only to the number of years but also to the particular seasons in which Vedic initiation should take place. Thus according to Apastamba a boy initiated in the seventh year shows progress in learning, while one who begins in the eighth year lives long, in the nineth gets vigour, in the eleventh strength; and the tenth and the twelfth make for prosperity. Similarly spring in India is the season of peace and plenty, summer is the time when the tropical sun is at the height of its power and glory, and autumn is the season for harvest.

# § 5.—THE PERIOD OF STUDENTSHIP.

The period of studentship varied according to the aptitude of the pupil to learn and to the vow to learn one or more Vedas. Manu 256 says: "In his preceptor's house, a brahmacharin having practised the vow of studying the three Vedas (Atharva being included within the Reveda) for thirty-six years or for a half or for a quarter of that period necessary to fully comprehend them; or having studied (all the Vedas or two Vedas or a single Veda, in the proper order of Mantra, Brahmana etc., without the least deviation from his vow shall enter the order of the householder". According to Yajñabalkya Samhita \$57 "In studying each Veda one should lead the life of a religious student for twelve years or five years (at the lowest)". According to Gautama Samhita 258 "Each Veda should be studied for 12 years; or until it is thoroughly mastered and understood," According to Baudhayana<sup>259</sup> the total duration of studentship was twelve years for each Veda, at least one year for each division thereof and twentyfour, thirty-six or forty-eight years in all. Manu 260 says elsewhere: "A twice-born one shall reside for the first quarter of his life in the residence of his preceptor" (i. e., for 25 years, since according to smrti. a hundred years is the ordained space of human existence). 261 In the Mahabharata 262 we are told: "One should lead a fourth of one's life

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> III. 1-2.

<sup>257</sup> I. 36.

<sup>258</sup> Ch. II.

<sup>959</sup> I. 2. 8.

<sup>260</sup> IV. 1.

<sup>261</sup> Satāyurvai purusah.

<sup>262</sup> Santiparva, 243rd Adbyāya.

as a brahmachari". Even after the regular term was over there was no reluctance to continue the study under the teacher. Svetaketu declares that a further residence of two months every year was advisable, for, by this means he had learnt more than during the period of his formal studentship. 263 Sukracharya 264 says: "I shall live for one hundred years and enjoy life with wealth'-one should ever earn learning and wealth in this hope for twenty-five years or half that period." We need not be surprised at the long period of twelve years which was considered necessary to become acquainted even with one Veda. Max Muller 265 quotes from a letter which he received in 1878 from an Indian gentleman giving an account of the system as it was then: "A student of Revela Sakha, if sharp and assiduous, takes about eight years to learn the Dasagranthas, the ten books which consist of (1) the Samhitas or the hymns; (2) the Brahmanas, the prose treatises on sacrifices etc.; (3) the Aranyakas; (4) the Grhyasūtras, the rules on domestic ceremonies; (5)-(10) the six Angas, treatises on pronunciation, astronomy, ceremonial, crammar, etymology and metre. A pupil studies every day during the eight years, except on the holidays, the so-called anadhyaya i. e., non-reading days. There being 360 days in a lunar year, the eight years would give him 2880 days. From these, 384 holidays have to be deducted, leaving him 2496 work-days during the eight years. Now the ten books consist, on a rough calculation, of 29. 500 ślokas, so that a student of the Rgveda has to learn about 12 slokas a day, a sloka consisting of 32 syllables".

But Svetaketu <sup>266</sup> returned home after studying all the Vedas for 12 years with his preceptor. Upakośala Kāmālāyana <sup>267</sup> dwelt as a brahmachārin in the house of Satyakāma Jābāla and "tended his fires for twelve years". There also seems to have been longer terms than that of 12 years. Satyakāma Jābāla <sup>268</sup> spent a series of years with his preceptor

<sup>\*6 \*</sup> Apastamba, I. 4, 13, 19.

se4 Sukranitisāra, Ch. III., lines 357-59.

ses Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion-Max Muller, Lec. III., pp. 165-66.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Chandogya Up., VI. 1. 2.

<sup>267</sup> Ibid., V. 10, 1.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Ibid., IV. 4. 5.

during which "four hundred cows had become a thousand". Studentship for thirty-two years is also mentioned 269 and also for 101 years.270 Megasthenes who came to India in the fourth century B. C. refers to Indian pupils spending thirty-seven years in study. Indeed it was already being recognised that for the cultivation of Vedic studies a long period of studentship was necessary. In the Taittiriya Brahmana<sup>271</sup> we read: "Bharadvaja lived through three lives in the state of a religious student. Indra approached him when he was lying old and decrepit and said to him, 'Bharadvaja, if I give thee a fourth life, how wilt thou employ it?' 'I will lead the life of a religious student', he replied. He (Indra) showed him three mountain-like objects, as it were unknown. From each of them he took a handful and calling to him, 'Bharadvaja' said: 'These are the three Vedas, The Vedas are infinite. This is what thou hast studied during these three lives. Now there is another thing which thou hast not studied. this (ya evam Veda) conquers a world as great as he would gain by the triple Vedic science". Indra 272 is said to have lived with Prajapati as a pupil for no less than 105 years. More often, as might naturally be expected, the realisation of the knowledge of Brahman, with its hard conditions and pre-requisites, required the dedication of a whole life and not merely a part of it. Svetaketu 273 coming home after twelve years of studentship "conceited, considering himself well-read and stern" and ignorant of the knowledge of Brahman was probably typical of such students as failed to attain the highest knowledge during the comparatively brief period of their pupilage and were deemed unworthy of that instruction. Upakośala Kāmālāyana 274 was probably another such student who inspite of his twelve years of austere studentship was not deemed worthy of that instruction by his teacher. Hence in some cases students chose to become life-long pupils of their teacher. 275 Daksa Samhita 276 says: "Two classes of brahmacharin have

<sup>260</sup> Ibid., VIII. 7. 3.

<sup>971</sup> III. 10, 11. 3.

<sup>978</sup> Ibid., V. 1.

<sup>278</sup> Bihad. Up., Il. 23, 2.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid., 11. 3.

<sup>272</sup> Chandogya Up., VIII. 2. 3.

<sup>474</sup> Ibid., IV. 10.

eve I. 8.9.

been mentioned by the wise in smriti. The first is Upakurvanaka (a pupil who wishes to pass on to the state of a householder); the second is Naisthika (one who lives a life of perpetual celibacy and studentship). He who after having adopted the life of a householder, becomes a religious student again,—is neither a Yatin nor a Vanaprasthin,; he is divorced from all the asramas". According to the Ramayana 277 the former is a Gauna brahmachārin, while the latter is a Mukhya brahmachārin. According to Vyasa Samhita 278 "The twice-born one who practises the vow of Vedic study for 36 years is an Upakuvaņaka". Lifelong or perpetual students are also mentioned in Yajñabalkya, 279 Uśana, 280 Vyasa, 281 Manu. 282 Vasistha 283 and Visnu 284 Samhitas. Indeed it is reasonable to assume that some of the moral attributes insisted upon as essential pre-requisites of instruction, being as they are, but the preparatory means to the highest end of human life-the attainment of the knowledge of Brahman-belong to the last stages of a disciplined life, as the fruits of a long struggle, rather than to its first stage. They cannot be regarded as the normal initial endowments with which a youthful student starts in his career. The epithets santa, danta, uparata and the like are hardly applicable, for instance, to an immature stripling who has had no experience of the struggles and temptations of life and of "the ills that flesh is heir to".

This view is supported by several presages in the Upanisads in which the conception and scope of brahmacharya is widened so as to embrace. not merely the student-period proper, but the entire course of life, regulated by the disciplines of the four successive stages or asramas as the way that leads to the Atman so that the whole of life was looked upon as an education for the life beyond. But many scholars like Deussen, 285 Rhys Davids 286 and Rev. F. E. Keays 287 deny the existence of the

<sup>277</sup> Balakanda 9th Sarga.

<sup>279</sup> I. 49.

<sup>981</sup> T. 40.

<sup>208</sup> Ch. VII.

<sup>278</sup> I. 41.

<sup>280</sup> III. 83.

<sup>282</sup> II. 243, 249. 984 XXVIII. 43.

<sup>205</sup> The Philosophy of the Upanisads-Doussen, pp. 367, 268.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> The Dialogues of the Buddha-Rhys Davids, Vol I. pp. 212, 213.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Ancient Indian Education—Keays, p. 28; c. f. p. 25.

successive four asramas or stages in the age of the Upanisads. But Dr. N. N. Law 288 has adduced evidences which go to prove that the four zsramas existed as a firmly established institution as early as the time of the two oldest Upanisads—the Chandogya and the Brhadaranyaka. Further evidences are available which go to show that the knowledge aimed at in the Upanisads implies the application of the whole life, through all its stages. Thus in the Chandogya Upanisad 289 the brahmacharin is exhorted after completing his studentship, to become a householder (kutumbe sthitwa) and attain fruition in a life of self-study and self-discipline. In another passage 290 the observances of the last three asramas such as sacrifices, vow of silence, fasting and living an anchorite's life in the forest are recognised as being ultimately but forms of brahmacharya as the underlying principle of life. In the Kena Upanisad 291 asceticism, self-restraint, and sacrifice (tapas, dama and karman) are specified as the preliminary conditions (pratisthah) of the Brahmi Upanisad i.e., of the real mystical doctrine which reveals Brahman. In the Kathopanisad 292 all the Vedas, all the practices of tapas and brahmacharya are described as means by which the One (Brahman) is to be sought as the final aim.

That the acquisition of knowledge was not always confined to the first period of life is also evident from a few concrete examples. Svetaketu Āruṇeya, 293 on reporting to his father Gautama, the imperfect character of the instruction he received from him as proved by his inability to answer some questions put to him by the king (rājanya) Pravahana Jaivāli was thus told by his father: "You know me, child, that whatever I know, I told you. But come, we shall go thither and dwell there as students". Gautama then goes to the king who asks him "Gautama, do you wish (for instruction from me) in the proper way?" Gautama replied: "I come to you as a pupil". There are other examples which point to temporary connections between teachers and elderly pupils or

Studies in Indian History and Culture—N. N. Law, pp. 1-20.

<sup>200</sup> VIII. 15.
200 Chandogya Up., VIII. 5.
202 IV. 8.

<sup>208</sup> Bihad. Up., VI. 2. 1-7; also Chandogya Up., V. 3.

householders, for the imparting of the knowledge of some special doctrines and truths. In the Brhadaranyaka Upanisad 294 Yajñabalkya instructs Maitreyi, Janaka, Gargi and Artabhaga. In the Chandogya Upanisad 295 "five great householders and five great theologians"-Prachinasala Aupamanyava, Satyayajna Paulusi Indradyumna Bhallaveya, Sarkaraksya and Budila Aśvataraśvi-first go special for some instruction to Uddalaka Aruni. The latter diffident as to the fullness of his knowledge of the subject went with them to Aswapati Kaikeya as the best teacher for the purpose. In the Mundaka 296 Upanişad Saunaka who is described as great householder (Mahaśalah) approaches Angiras for instruction. In the Chandogya Upanisad 297 Narada approaches Sanatkumāra after completing the period of ordinary studentship during which he has studied a variety of subjects, and says: "I, sir, have learnt all the mantras, but do not yet know what atman is". In another passage 298 Indra grows old in learning at the house of his preceptor. In the Mahabharata299 we are told of Kacha, son of Brhaspati, who approached Sukra and agreed to remain with him as a student for 1.000 years.

# § 6. CONDITIONS AND DUTIES OF STUDENTSHIP.

We shall now consider the conditions and duties of studentship.

(a) Residence in the teacher's house—The first condition was that the student should live in the house of his teacher. Even the Atharvaveda 300 refers to this condition in the phrase "if we have dwelt in studentship". It is also referred to in the Satapatha Brahmana 301 as also in the Aitareya 303 and Tattiriya 303 Brahmanas. The Chandogya

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Brhad. Up., II. 4; IV. 1-2, 3-4; III 2, 13

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> V. II.

<sup>996</sup> I. 1. 3.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> VII. 1.

<sup>298</sup> Chandogya Up., VIII. 7-11.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Adiparva, 76th Adhyāya.

<sup>300</sup> Brahmacharya yaduşima, VII. 109. 7. 501 XI. 3. 3. 2.

<sup>\*\*</sup> In the story of a boy whose brothers divided the paternal property among themselves, while he lived with his teacher studying the Vedas, brahmacharyam basantam, Ait. Br., V. 14.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Yo be devischarati brahmacharyam, Taitt. Br., III. 7. 63.

Upanisad applies to the student the epithets "achārya-kula-vāsin" 304 and "ante-vāsin". 305 The latter epithet is also used in the Bṛhadā raṇyaka 306 and Taittiriya 307 Upanisads. Residence in the house of the preceptor is referred to also in Manu, 308 Hārīt, 309 Vyāsa, 310 Viṣnu<sup>311</sup> and Vasistha 312 Saṃhitās. Manu 313 says: "Let not the rising or setting sun find the brahmachārin within the precincts of a village". Thus the student must be in his preceptor's house before the sun sets and should not quit it for a village before the sun rises in the morning. While on duty in his preceptor's house the brahmachārin was free from all fear of injury or death. "The Brahmā delivered the creatures over to Death, the brahmachārin alone He did not deliver over to him". 314

In this connection we shall do well to bear in mind that the modern educators recognise two factors in education: (1) the internal and (2) the external. The first includes all the congenital tendencies and innate capacities of the child. The second is the child's environment. We have seen that early Hindu teachers by developing the doctrine of Adhikara took into consideration the tastes and innate capacities or potentialities of the child. They also clearly saw the far-reaching effect of the child's environment on his education. Hence as soon as the mind began to develop the child was translated from his home to an atmosphere where he could breathe freely moral health and strength and which was, therefore, most favourable to the development of a spiritual life which concerned the Hindus more than anything else. Indeed the cheerfulness and calmness of the school environment, the peace that reigned there and the orderly and pure life lived by every one there, were stimulating to a healthy and pure life in the student. In fact, the principle underlying the ancient Brahmanic educational system is the same that urges the modern educators to advocate the system of Residential Universities. But as the student lived in the house of his preceptor as one of his family and breathed there the atmosphere of his own home, the ancient Hindu

<sup>\*04</sup> II. 23, 2.

<sup>\*05</sup> III. 11. 5; IV. 10. 1.

<sup>306</sup> VI. 3. 7.

<sup>\*\*</sup> I. 3. 8; II. 1.

<sup>808</sup> II. 175.

<sup>809</sup> III. 1.

<sup>\*10</sup> I. 23.

<sup>\$11</sup> XXVIII, 1.

<sup>\*19</sup> Ch, VII.

<sup>\*1</sup>ª II. 219.

<sup>\*14</sup> Satapatha Brahmana, XI, 3. 3.

residential system was free from most of the defects and artificialities which take from the value of the modern Boarding Schools and Residential Universities. In this respect the Hindu residential system was also superior to the Buddhist residential system in the monasteries. This ancient Hindu system still survives in our tols.

But residence with the teacher was not a compulsory condition of studentship in all educational institutions. Day-scholars were also admitted to instruction. We read of Prince Junha of Benares setting up independent house for himself from which he attended the College at Taxila (Jat. IV. 96). We read of 'a country Brahmin' who finishing his studies in the three Vedas and the eighteen sciences under a famous teacher in Benares, stopped on there to look after his estate, married and become a regular house-holder. And yet he was allowed to continue his studies as an external student. He could however come but "two or three times every day to listen to his master's teachings" owing to the obstructions of his mischievous wife who always feigned sickness whenever he wanted to get away to the school. A similer case is that of 'a young Brahmin from a foreign land' who while studying as one of the 5.0 pupils of a famous teacher in Benares, "fell in love with a woman and made her his wife. Though he continued to live on in Benares he failed two or three times in his attendance on the master". Sometimes he was so worried and harassed by his unmanageable wife that he absented himself altogether from waiting on the master. "Some seven or eight days later he renewed his attendances" when his master gave him necessary instruction after which he "paid no heed to his wife's caprices". while his wife also "ceased from that time forward from her naughtiness. There is another instance of a student being handicapped in his studies by the wicked ways of his wife. (Jat. I. 463; I. 300; Ibid., 301-302).

(b) Begging alms.—It was the usual rule for the brahmacharin to go about begging for his teacher. In the Chandogya Upanisads while the householders Saunaka Kapeya and Abhipratarin Kaksaseni were being waited on at their meal a religious student begged of them.

The Setapatha Brahmana<sup>816</sup> also refers to the brahmacharin begging for alms as well as the Atharvaveda: 317 It is also clear from the Satapatha Brahmana \$16 that begging was prescribed for the student to produce in him a proper spirit of humility: "Having made himself poor, as it were, and become devoid of shame he begs alms". Apastamba, \$19 Manu, 890 Usana, 821 Sambarta, 829 Vyasa, 828 Samkhya, 824 Vasistha 825 Visnu 826 Harit 827 and Yajñabalkya 828 Samhitas also refer to begging alms as the duty of the student. "If in health, a brahmacharin fails to beg alms for seven days in succession, he must do the penanace of an Avakirni (of broken vow)". 829 In the Middle Ages in Europe we read of some students in the Universities subsisting by means of begging; but India far surpassed that by making it a rule for all students. A brahmana student shall beg alms, pronouncing the term 'bhabat' in the first part, a kshatriya (should use the term 'bhabat') in the middle and a vaisya (should use the term 'bhabat') in the end (of his begging formulæ). 330

He shall beg alms first of his own mother or sister or mother's sister or of any other woman who might not insult him with a refusal. 381 He should beg alms from those who are given to Vedic study, the celebration of sacrifices and are intent on the performance of the duties of their respective castes and orders. 332 He shall not beg alms of his preceptor's family nor of his cognates and relations. 333 In the absence of any other householder, he shall beg alms, leaving each preceeding one of these persons. 884 In the absence of (fit persons of whom the Vedas give the brahmacharin the sanction to beg alms) let him, silent and self-controlled,

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*1* XI. 3. 3. 5; X. 6. 5. 9.
                                                   817 VI. 133. 3.
*18 XL 3, 3, 5.
                     819 I. 1.
                                                   390 II. 41; II. 108; II. 182; II. 190;
**1 I. 5.
                     829 I. 11.
                                                   598 J. 30.
                     825 Ch. VII.
                                                   328 XXVIII, 10.
984 III. 8.
*** III. 7.
                    528 I. 29.
                                                   820 Manu II. 187.
*** Manu, II. 49; Yājñabālkya, I. 30; Sāmkhya, II. 12; Vasiṣṭha, Ch. X; Usanā I. 52;
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Gautama Ch. II.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Manu II. 50; Usana I. 53.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Manu, II. 183; Uśanā, I. 55.

Manu, II. 184; Gautama, Ch. II; Vişnu. XXVIII. 9.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Manu, II, 184; Usana, I, 56; Gautama, Ch, II.

beg alms of the whole village (i. c., of all the four castes) without repeating the proper formulæ of begging. \*\*\* Usana Samhita \*\*\* says: "It is said that one may receive alms from all of his caste or from all castes but he should shun the outcastes". Samkha\*\* and Yajñabalkya\*\* Samhitas, however, lay down that "a brahmacharin should beg alms of brahmanas alone".

. 'He should collect daily food (which a brahmacharin may take) except salt and what is stale. \*\* Even while in distress, the acceptance of any wealth except the alms is prohibited."\*\*

All articles obtained by begging should be undeceitfully made over to the preceptor.<sup>341</sup> In the event of the preceptor being absent from his house, articles of fare obtained by begging, should be made over to his wife or son or to a senior fellow-student.<sup>342</sup>

(c) Tending the sacred fires.—Another of his duties was to tend the sacred fires. Upakośala tonded the sacred fires for twelve years and yet his teacher does not allow him to return home, but goes away on a journey without having taught him, 843 Looking after the. sacrificial fires is also mentioned in the Satapatha Brahmana. 844 Elsewhere in the same work<sup>345</sup> the duty of the brahmacharin is stated to be to "put on fuel," the spiritual significance of which is also explained, viz., "to enkindle the mind with fire, with holy lustre." Yajnabalkya, 347 Harit, 348 Gautama, 348 Vyasa 850 and Samkhya 861 Sambitas also enjoin the student to tend the sacred fire. also enjoins the student to tend the sacred fire. Mahabharata<sup>852</sup> Manu<sup>853</sup> says, "In health, if a brahmacharin fails to kindle the sacrificial fire with the fuel of samidh twigs for seven days in succession he must do the penance of an Avakirni (of broken vow)."

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888 Manu, II. 184; Usana, I. 57.
                                                             886 T. 54.
                                                             888 1, 29,
887 III. 8.
                                                             340 Vyāsa Samhitā, I. 32.
389 Uáanā, III. 19.
342 Manu, II. 51; Gautama, Ch. II.; Usana, I. 1; Vasistha, Ch. VII.
349 Gautama, Ch. II.
                                                           343 Chandogya Up., IV. 10. 1-2.
                                                           848 XI. 5. 4. 5.
344 XI. 3. 3. 4.
*** II. 108; II. 176; II. 186.
                                  847 I. 31.
                                                           848 III. 2.
                                  850 I. 34.
*4 °Ch. II.
                                                           881 III, 10.
                                                           *** IL 187.
*** Santiparva, 191st Adhyaya.
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- (d) Tending the Teachers' House .- Tending the house of the teacher was also one of the duties. In the Satapatha Brahmana 354 we read "wherefore the students guard their teacher, his house and the cattle." In the Chandogya Upanisad<sup>\$55</sup> Satyakāma is sent away with the teacher's cattle into a distant country where he remains for a series of years during which four hundred cows had become a thousand. The duty of guarding the teacher's cattle and grazing them in the pastures is also referred to in the Samkhayana Aranyaka. \* In the Aitareva Áranyaka 357 Taruksya guards his teacher's cows for a whole year. The Harit Samhita ss also asks the student to offer unto his preceptor pitcherfuls of water and morsels for his cow. According to Usana Samhitasso "he should daily bring pitcherfuls of water, kuśagrass, flowers and sacrificial fuels." According "the brahmacharin shall fetch pitcherfuls of water, flowers, cow-dung, clay and kuśa grass as much as his preceptor might require every day." In the Mahabharata 361 we find that Aruni is working on the field of his teacher and Upamanvu is grazing the cattle of his teacher. In the same work<sup>862</sup> we find that Kacha is grazing the cattle of his teacher Sukra and bringing flowers for his teacher's daughter Devayoni.
- (e) Serving the teacher by word, mind and deed.—According to Manu<sup>868</sup> the brahmachārin should "do what is conducive to the good of his preceptor each day." As by digging (the earth) with a digging instrument one gets water, so by faithfully serving him, a pupil acquires (all) the knowledge which is contained in the guru. According to Yājñabālkya Samhitā<sup>868</sup> "the service of the preceptor leads one to immortality." "He should secure the preceptor's well-being by his body and mind, words and deeds." \*\*\*66\*\*

<sup>854</sup> III. 6. 2. 15.

<sup>855</sup> IV. 4. 5.

<sup>886</sup> VII. 19.

<sup>887</sup> III. 1. 6. 3-4.

<sup>558</sup> III. 2.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> III. 8; c. f. III. 19.

<sup>360</sup> II. 182.

<sup>361</sup> Adiparba, 3rd Adhyaya.

Adiparba, 76th Adhyaya.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> II. 108.

<sup>364</sup> Manu II, 218.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> III. 156; c. f. Kämandakiya Nitisära, 1st sarga sls. 66-67.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Yajnabilkya Samhitä, I. 27; Mahäbhärata, Udyogaparba, 48rd Adhyāya.

# § 7. REGULATIONS GOVERNING STUDENT-LIEE.

Let us now consider the various regulations governing the life of the student in the teacher's house.

(a) Early rising.—Discipline was held of much greater value than instruction and the most important work of the educator was to help the student to get into an orderly routine of life. One such discipline consisted in early rising. Thus we are told "he should duly perform the Sandhyz adoration in the morning when the stars are still visible." A brahmacharin having quitted his bed early in the morning and having bathed and performed the Homa should accost self-controlled his preceptor." If the sun rises, seeing him asleep, out of wilful laziness let him mutter the Gayatri mantra and fast for a whole day." Indeed a sleeping brahmacharin roused from his sleep by the sun, if he fails to

set III. 1. see I. 5. see I. 36.

<sup>870</sup> III. 9-10. 871 XXVIII. 7.

eva Pythibir Ithihasa, Part VI., p. 153; c. f. Ibid., p. 81.

<sup>874</sup> Chandogya Up., VII. 15.

<sup>875</sup> Sambarta Samhitä, I. 6. 876 Samkhya Samhitä, III. 2.

ave Manu II. 220; Vispa XXVIII. 58.

do this penance is associated with a great sin."<sup>878</sup> Kālidās also emphasises the habit of the student in getting up in the small hours of the morning. Dilīpa was awakened in the morning by the Vedic chant of the young students in the hermitage. Kumudbatī the Nāga princess got from Kākutsa (i. e., Kuśa) a son named Atithi just as the intellect acquires clearness form the last quarter of the night. <sup>879</sup>

In Jātaka (I. 436) we read of a school of for brāhmaņa students in Benares who "had a cock that crowed betimes and roused them to their studies." When, the trained cock died, a second cock was obtained which "had been bred in a cemetary and had thus no knowledge of times and seasons and used to crow casually, at midnight, the young brāhmaṇs fell to their studies, so that by dawn they were tired out and could not for sleepiness keep their attention on the subject already learnt (gahit atthanampi); and when he fell a-crowing in broad day they did not get a chance of quiet for repeating their lessions. And as it was the cock's crowing at midnight and by day which had brought their studies to a standstill, they took the bird and wrung its neck". We may note in passing that this passage also proves that there was time for the private study of the students which they spent on repeating new lessons and revising old ones.

(b) Prayer.—Another discipline consisted in the worship of the Sun as the universal spirit. We have numerous references in the Vedas<sup>380</sup> to the three worships in the day—morning, midday and evening—in the Samhitz as well as in the Brahmana portion. In the Āraṇyaka<sup>381</sup> we have not merely the worship of the Savitr, but clear reference to twilight worship (sandhyz). Manu says "Both in the morning and in the evening, let the student pure and self-controlled, mutter the Gayatri and pray, sitting in a holy place." The Mahabharata<sup>383</sup> also enjoins the student to pray to the Sun in the morning and to Agni in the evening. The Viṣṇu, <sup>384</sup> Sambarta<sup>383</sup> and Uśanā<sup>383</sup> samhitas also enjoin the

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<sup>878</sup> Manu II, 221.

<sup>280</sup> Rgveds, III. 56, 6.

<sup>349</sup> Manu II, 222,

SSA XXVIII. 9.

<sup>879</sup> Raghuvamsam, Canto XVII. 1.

sea Tait. Arap., II. 1.

sss Santiparva, 191st Adhyaya.

<sup>895</sup> I. 6. 896 I. 15.

student to perform the two rites of sandhya every day. "Standing he shall perform the morning sandhya and the evening sandhya seated." According to Gautama Samhita "one should perform the daily sandhyas outside one's room. The rite of morning sandhya should be performed standing; while that of the evening sandhya should be performed in perfect silence, till the appearance of the stars and planets in the heavens."

Prof. James in his "Talks to Teacher on Psychology" speaks very highly of the practice of morning and evening prayers among the Hindu students. Not only does it help to train up the boy in right moral conduct but also to stimulate his preconscious thought. A modern writer\*\* has said that as the child is incapable of forming abstract religious conceptions, the training during this period "should be of the heart rather than of the head and perhaps oven more of the hand, i.e., a training in doing, or in other words, taking part in religious forms." So in initiating the child early to religious forms and practices the Hindu system met the demands of the nature of the child most effectively. Indeed the main purpose of these worships and the prayers used in them was to remind the individual that his success in life and spiritual welfare depended on his energies running into line with the principles of the life universal. This is illustrated by the Gayatri hymn with which handfuls of water are to be offered to the Sun. 390 'We meditate on that adorable effulgence of the lord Savitr from whom we derive the stimulus for our mental strivings and our activities.' The hymn is so worded that it could be applied as motive power to the student of whatever grade, whether he worships a personal god or the universal spirit. The object of these hymns was to establish a habit of righteousness. apart from intellectual conviction, by working on the sub-conscious region of the mind.

(c) Bath.—To relieve nervous tension in a tropical country like India and to obtain physical purity which was intimately connected

<sup>\*\*</sup> Vişpu Samhita, XXVIII. 3.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Fundamentals of Child Study-Kirpatrick.

<sup>888</sup> Ch. II.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Tait, Arap., II. 1.

with mental purity the student was enjoined to take regular baths every day. According to Manu<sup>\$91</sup> the (religious) student should take his bath every day; according to Viṣṇu Samhitā<sup>\$92</sup> twice a day, while according to Vaśiṣṭha Samhitā<sup>\$93</sup> and Kāmandakiya Nītisāra<sup>\$94</sup> thrice a day. "He who takes his food without taking his bath, should recite the Gāyatrī one hundred and eight times.<sup>\$95</sup> "He should never take such a bath as would remove the filth of his body."<sup>\$96</sup> "He must not remove the dirt in his body except in a calamity and must not sport in water."<sup>\$97</sup> The idea was that the student should not be over-zealous in bathing so as to beautify his person. Hence Uśanā Samhitā<sup>\$98</sup> lays down that "he should daily wash his limbs and paste them with earth."

The hymns to the waters repeated by him at his bath not only remind him of the universal water which flow in all the streams from the Ganges onwards, but also of his sins and transgressions, committed in eating forbidden food (fed by the waters) which might excite wrong passions, in drinking or in accepting things from greed. He might bathe in a mountain ravine, but he saw in it the mighty Ganges or the winding Jamuna, or even the confluence of the seven streams familiar to him from the Vedic age onwards. The waters that washed him reminded him of the vast ocean and of the herbs which grew near the milky brine when the Moon shed her silver radiance on it and cured many a benumbed limb and aching heart. Everywhere he learnt to identify his interests with those of Nature's eternal forces.

(d) Dress.—Then come the regulations about the dress of the student. "The brahmacharins (of the three social orders) shall respectively wear hempen, silken and woolen cloths."<sup>400</sup> "A twice-born one should put on an excellent white piece of cotton or silk cloth without hole but quite different from the one used before."<sup>401</sup>

<sup>\*\*\* 11. 176.</sup> 

SSS XXXVIII. 9.

<sup>398</sup> Ch. VII. 394 2nd Sarga, sl. 22.

<sup>395</sup> Sambarta Samhita, I. 29.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Usanā Samhitā, III. 22. \*\* Kātyāyana Samhitā, XXV. 15.

<sup>900</sup> III. 8.

<sup>599</sup> Imam me Gange Jamune, etc.

<sup>400</sup> Manu, II. 41.

<sup>401</sup> Uinna, I, 7.

According to Vasistha409 "the wearing cloth of a brahmana shall be white (and) spotless; that of a kshatriya dyed with madder; that of a vaisya dyed with turmeric or made of raw silk. The undyed cotton cloth (is) for all (religious students)".

"They shall respectively put on upper sheets (uttariya) respectively made of the skins of the antelope, ruru (a species of deer) and goat."403 "For the twice-born one, the sacred skin of a black antelope has been described as the cloth for covering the upper part of the body. its absence, the skin of a ruru deer is allowed to be used."404 Szmkhya<sup>405</sup> and Visnu<sup>406</sup> Samhitas prescribe a deer-skin, a tiger-skin and a goat's skin for the first three orders respectively. Vasistha407 prescribes the skin of a black antelope, the skin of a spotted deer, cow-skin or he-goat's skin respectively. From the hymns used at the initiation ceremony we learn that the antelope skin kept him from forgetting what he had learnt-apparently a reference to its power of retaining the human force which we now call electricity.

"The girdle of a brahmana (student) shall be made of three strings of Munja grass408 evenly and smoothly tied, that of a kshatriya shall be made of murba fibre409 tied in the shape of a bow-string and that of a vaisya shall be made of hemp410 twists411—symbolical of the professions to be followed in each case in the next stage of life. "In the absence of munia grass, etc., the girdles (of brahmanas, kshatriyas and vaisvas) shall be made respectively of the fibres of kuśa,418 ashwantaka and valvaja, consisting of one, three or five ties (according to the family custom), each tie being tied with three strings of such fibre-thread."418

"One should always wear the sacred thread."414 "The holy thread of a brahmana shall be made of three strings of cotton thread,

<sup>400</sup> Ch. X.

<sup>403</sup> Manu, II. 41.

<sup>408</sup> II. 9.

<sup>406</sup> XXVII. 20.

<sup>400</sup> Utana, I. 13; Vispu, XXVII. 18.

<sup>410</sup> Visnu, XXVII. 18 prescribes Valvaja.

<sup>412</sup> Utana, I. 13.

<sup>418</sup> Manu, II, 43.

<sup>404</sup> Usans, I. 8.

<sup>407</sup> Ch. X.

<sup>400</sup> Vispu, XXVII, 18.

<sup>421</sup> Manu, II, 42,

<sup>414</sup> Usana I. 9.

that of a kshatriya with three strings of hempen thread and that of a vaisva with three strings of woolen thread, suspended from the upper part of the body."415 The sacred thread should extend from the left shoulder to the bottom of the right arm.416

The student was invested with a staff 'for the sake of a long life of holiness, and of holy lustre'. It symbolised his entering a long sacrificial period. "The staff was to be made of vilva or palasa wood417 for a brahmana student, symbolical of sacredness and purity; of vata or the catechu wood418 for the kshatriya, whose widespreading arms giving shade and shelter represented his functions; and in the case of the vaisya of the udumvara,419 reminding one of strength and increase". 420 According to Samkhya Samhita 421 the sacred rods of these three orders should be respectively made of parns, pippala and Visnu422 however allows all the twice-born to use a staff made of palasa, khadir and udumvara if they like. The staff of a brāhmana shall be made of a height so as to reach to the hair of his head. that of a kshatriya shall be of a height so as to reach his forehead, while that of a vaisya shall be of a height so as to reach the tip of his nose. 423 According to Samkhya Samhita 424 the staff should reach respectively their hair, ears and forehead in height. According the Samkhya Samhita<sup>425</sup> the staff should be whole-skinned, <sup>426</sup> unbent<sup>427</sup> and unburnt. According to Manu<sup>428</sup> besides this, it should be beautiful to look at, not eaten into by worms and uncreative of terror to any person.

The shaving of the head, except the tuft of hair on the crown, should be done by a brahmachārin. 499 According to Viṣṇu480 and Vasistha Samhitās 481 a religious student shall wear either matted locks or a tuft of hair on the crown of his head. " A twice-born one should always tie up the tuft of hair on his crown. "432

Menu II. 44; Vişnu XXVII. 19; Uśanā I. 6.
 Vasistha X; Vişnu XXVII. 21. 416 Usanā I. 9.

<sup>418</sup> Visnu XXVII. 21 prescribes kladir wood, while Vasistha X. prescribes nyagrodha

<sup>419</sup> Vasistha X; Vişnu XXVII. 21.

<sup>491</sup> II. 10. 422 XXVII. 23.

<sup>495</sup> II. 11. 494 II. 10.

<sup>496</sup> II. 47. 427 Ibid.

<sup>480</sup> XXVIII, 41. 431 Ch. VII.

<sup>420</sup> Manu II. 45; Usana I. 14.

<sup>423</sup> Manu II. 46; Vişnu XXVII. 22. 426 Vişhu XXVII. 24.

<sup>420</sup> Kātyāyana Samhitā XXV. 15.

<sup>439</sup> Usana I. 7.

According to Manu<sup>433</sup> and Viṣṇu<sup>434</sup> Samhitās a girdle, a staff, a holy thread or a kamaṇḍalu (ewer) broken or spoiled by use, should be thrown into water, and one should take a new one, consecrated with the mantra.

He should not be covered with too much clothing: 485 he should renounce personal decorations. 436 He should not put on colour; 437 should not anoint his eyes; 488 he should not oil his body; 489 he should not rub his body;440 he should not shave;441 he should not see his face in a mirror; 442 he should not use garlands of flowers.443 He should forswear the use of scents;444 he should not use sandal paste; 445 he should not wear shoes; 446 He should not use umbrellas;447 he should not rub his teeth;448 he should not have clean finger, nails and teeth. 450 He should avoid clean teeth; 450 but this does not prove that the student had dirty teethonly personal beauty is to be avoided, for, we are told451 that he should use a piece of wood for cleansing the teeth. But according to Haiit452 the student should not rub his teeth with wood after having rinsel his mouth at the time of bathing. The prohibition in Gautama<sup>453</sup> of not cleansing the teeth in the presence of the preceptor also shows that the students did not possess dirty teeth.

(e) Food.—Then come the regulations about the food of the student. The student should daily support himself with a portion of the food acquired by begging.<sup>454</sup> He should, however, take his food

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438 II. 61. 434 XXVII. 29. 435 Aitaroya Āraņyaka V.
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<sup>486</sup> Vyāsa Samhitā I. 28. 437 Aitareya Āraņyaka V. Manu II. 178.

<sup>438</sup> Aitareya Āranyaka V; Manu II, 179; Yājūbālkya I, 33; Usanā III, I6; Vyāsa I, 28; Sāmkhya III, 12; Vasiṣṭha VII; Viṣṇu XXVIII, 11.

<sup>480</sup> Aitareya Āraņyaka V ; Uśanā III. 16 ; Vašistha VII.

<sup>440</sup> Aitareya Aranyaka V.

<sup>442</sup> Uśanā III. 20: Vyāsa I. 28.

<sup>448</sup> Aitareya Āraņyaka V; Manu II. 177; Hārīt III. 8; Uśanā III. 16; Vyāsa I. 29. Sambarta I. 5; Gautama II.

<sup>444</sup> Manu II. 177; Hārit III. 8; Vyāsa I. 29; Sambarta I. 5; Gautama II.

<sup>448</sup> Vyāsa I. 29. 446 Manu II. 178; Hārīt III. 8; Uśanā III. 16; Gautama II.

<sup>447</sup> Manu II. 178; Hārīt III. 8; Uśanā III. 17; Gautama II. 448 Uśanā III. 20.

<sup>440</sup> Taitt. Brah. III. 410 Vasistha VII. 451 Harit III. 6.

<sup>459</sup> III. 7. 455 Ch. II. 454 Harlt I. 59.

with the previous permission of his preceptor. He should daily adore his food and take it without speaking ill of it; on seeing it he should be delighted and happy and should welcome it with laudation. For says Manu 457 "Food daily worshipped, gives strength and vitality. Unworshipped food destroys both the worlds of the partaker."

The prayer at his meal is as follows: 'Oh Savita, lord and first cause of production, I see before me the visible effects of thy work (satyam) amidst the mystery of the things unseen (rtyam). Oh water, thou art the symbol of the mystery of eternity, being at the bottom of all creation and the cover of all, encompassing all in thy infinite expanse. I take this food for the upkeep of the vital airs in the body, with a drop of moistening water to prepare the alimentary system for its work. May the food I take be an offering to universal Brahman so that I may be fed with the waters of everlasting life'. The food, says another hymn, is of good. In the highest sense of the word, everything in this world is either food or the feeder. Water is the food. Fire the feeder; life's duration is the food for the feeder, this body. Earth is the food for the feeder, space (\(\bar{a}k\bar{a}\bar{a}\)). The food and the feeder depend on each other. He who realises this becomes one with food as well as with the feeder; he feeds on all things that are and is free.

Having drawn a circular figure first, he should place the vessel on it and out till the recitation of the formulæ amrtopidhan, etc., at the end of his meal. 460

He should eat his meal sitting with his face towards the east. 461 He who exts his meal with his face towards the east acquires longevity; by taking his meal with his face towards the south a person acquires fame. He who takes his meal with his face turned towards the west acquires opulence; by eating with his face turned

<sup>488</sup> Hārīt I. 58; Yājnabālkya I. 31; Vyāsa I. 31; Viņu XXVIII. 10; Sāmkhya III. 8; Gautama II; Vašistha VII.

<sup>456</sup> Hārīt I. 60; Manu II. 54; Yājňabālkya I. 31.

<sup>458</sup> Taitt. Up., III. 7-9.

Taitt. Up.,—Ahamannam ahamannādah... .. kāmānnī kāmarūpyanusanclaran.....aham višvam bhuvanamabhyabhavām.

<sup>460</sup> Härit I. 64. 461 Manu II. 51; Sänkhya III. 8; Sambarta I. 11.

towards the south, he acquires truthfulness." 462 Harit Samhita 468 lays down that "he should daily take his meal with his face directed towards the east or the south. But he should never eat facing the north."

He should take his meals abstaining from speech. 464

Vasistha Samhita 465 says: "Eight mouthfuls form the meal of an ascetic, sixteen that of a hermit, thirty-two that of a householder and an unlimited quantity that of a religious student." "An ox, a student and a brahmana who has kindled the sacred fire, can do their work if they eat; without eating (much), they cannot do it." 466 Vyāsā Samhitā 467 lays down: "A single meal, which is not incompatible with the spirit of brahmacharya is what is enjoined to be taken by the student, every day". Manu 468 prescribes two meals; but says he "Let him not take a third meal during the interval of his morning and evening ones." Manu 469 says "Let him avoid over-eating". For says he: 470 "Overenting brings on ill health, shortens the duration of life, proves hostile to acts (sacrifices) which lead to heaven, is sinful and condemned by men. Hence let him avoid over-eating." Harit 471 speaks in the same strain: "Taking too much or had food is destructive of health, longevity. attainment of the celestial region, and virtue and is condemned by the community. Therefore it should be avoided ". According to Gautama Samhita 472 "He shall eat his meal till the appetite is fully satisfied. He shall rise up from his dinner just as he has taken his fill, without casting any greedy look on the food left nnconsumed". Indeed true discipline consists in withdrawing the mind from sense-objects, instead of merely checking the senses. The Bhagabat Gita forbids gluttony because over-eating stands in the way of success in the practices of Yoga 478 i. e., control of the mind.

<sup>462</sup> Manu II, 52.

<sup>461</sup> Harit 1.58; I.64; Sambarta I. 11; Yājnabālkya I. 31; Gautama II.

<sup>465</sup> Ch. VI. 466 Vasistha VI. 467 I. 33.

<sup>468</sup> II. 56. 469 II. 56. 470 II. 57. 471 I. 61.

<sup>479</sup> Cb. Il.

<sup>478</sup> Nätyaánatastu Yogosti in Bhäg. Gitä. Atomanah chanchalatvam yayan ähärasevayä in áukasaptati, I. 56. (See Z. D. M. G., for 1900., p. 643).

He should not take only cooked rice 474 nor that which is the residue of another's meal. 475 According to Yajñabalkya 476 Visnu 477 he can take the residue of the food of his preceptor only. He should not, however, take the residue of his preceptor's food willingly for medicinal purposes. 478 "Nor should he take the residue of the food eaten by his guru's son479 or wife".480 Yajñabalkya481 says "while a brahmacharin, one should not partake of boiled rice brought from elsewhere unless he suffers from any disease. And a brahamana only is allowed to take food as he likes when invited on the occasion of a śraddha, provided he does not break his vow". Manu 482 says "A brahmacharin having been invited to a repast given in connection with a śraddha offered to the deities may take to his satisfaction (articles of food which do not soil the vow of a vowist): invited to a repast in connection with a śraddha offered to the manes, he may take to his satisfaction such food, which a rsi may eat (nirvara grains and such like food-stuff which a holy sage usually takes in his hermitage) without incurring the sin of eating the food given by one and the same person; thereby his vow is not nullified". According to Vyasa Samhita 483 "he may dine in connection with a pitr śraddha if thereto invited by a person without any disqualification and if his preceptor approves of it. But a kshatriya or a vaisya brahmacharin is not authorised to partake of a śraddha repast given by a single person". Sambarta Samhita, 484 however, lays down that "a brahmacharin, who eats boiled rice of a person suffering from the impurity of birth or that at the first śraddha or that at the monthly (śraddha) should get himself purified (by fasting) for three nights". According to Visnu 485 and Samkhya 486 Samhitas he should avoid meals on the occasion of a śraddha ceremony.

He should avoid flesh; 487 specially of aquatic creatures; 488 he should

<sup>474</sup> Vyāsa I. 31. 475 Vyāsa I. 31; Manu II. 56; Yājňabālkya I. 33. 476 I. 33

<sup>477</sup> XXXIII. 11. 478 Usanā III. 21. 479 Visna XXVIII. 33.; Gautama II.

<sup>480</sup> Gautama II. 481 I. 32. 482 II. 188-89. 488 I. 32.

<sup>484</sup> I. 24. 485 XXVIII. 11. 485 III. 12.

Aitareya Āraņyaka V; Manut II. 177; Yajñabālkya I. 33; Sambarta I. 5; Viņu XXVIII. 11.

<sup>488</sup> Taitt. Brahmana II. 8, 7.

avoid meat-diet; 489 he should not take honey. 490 If however a student happens to take somehow meat or honey he should after performing Prājā-patya, be purified by a mounji-homa. 491 He should not take articles of sweet taste which acquire an acid flavour when stale. 492 He should avoid prepared betel-leaf. 493 He should not take artificial salt 494 and sweet juice. 495 He should refrain from taking all kinds of stale food. 496

(f) Sleep.—According to Manu, 497 Hārīt 498 and Sāṃkhya 499 Saṃhitās the student should lie on the bare ground. According to Vasisṭha Saṃhitā 500 lie should avoid sleep on a cot. 501 According to Gautama 502 and Viṣṇu 503 he should sleep on a lower bel than that of his preceptor and should rise before and sleep after his preceptor. 504

According Satapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>505</sup> he should not sleep in day time.<sup>506</sup> Manu<sup>507</sup> and Viṣṇu<sup>508</sup> Saṃhitās say—" If the sun goes down without the knowledge of the brahmachārin finding him resting in bed out of laziness, let him mutter the Gāyatrī mantra and fast for a whole day." Indeed according to the Mahābhārata sleeping at sandhyā shortens life.<sup>509</sup> Sambarṭa Saṃhitā<sup>510</sup> lays down that if a brahmachārin, on any occasion, sleeps during the day, in a healthy state, he should after bathing and adoring the sun, recite the Gāyatrī one hundred and eight times.

(g) Celibacy. The greatest restraint was as regards the sexual impulses. Herein the Aryans were strong as compared with their enemies the Dasyus who are laughed at as sisnadevah', 511 a term which Yaska interprets

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480 Sāmkhya III. 12; Gautama II.
490 Manu II. 177; Yajñbalkya I. 33; Sambarta I. 5; Samkhya III. 12; Vişnr WVIII.
        11 : Gautama II.
401 Sambarta I. 26.
                              402 Manu II. 177.
                                                             408 Parasara San. .. I. 50.
404 Vispu XXVIII. 11.
                              408 Usanā III. 16.
                                                             406 Visna XXVIII 11.
                              408 III. 2.
                                                             400 lil. 13.
497 II. 108.
500 Ch. VII.
                              501 Compare Taitt. Brah,—He should avoid high seats.
BOR Ch. II.
                                                            505 XXVIII. 12-13.
504 Compare Vyasa I. 35.
                                                             505 XI, 5. 4. 5.
506 Mantrapātha II. 6, 14.,—Divā mā susupthāh.
                              508 XXVIII. 53.
<sup>809</sup> Anusasanaparva, 104, 27; 120, 87; 100, 55; 120, 29.
                                                            510 I. 33.
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511 Rgveds VIII. 2. 1. 5; X. 99. 3,

as 'men of loose sexual habits'. Elsewhere we are told that the Aryans were able to vanquish the united army of the Asuras entirely by their brahmacharya tapas, i. e., the stability of character arising from the curbing of the sexual impulses. 512 The Taittiriya Brāhmaņa, 513 therefore, enjoins the student to observe the vow of continence. According to Harit 514 and Vyāsa<sup>515</sup> Samhitās the student should lead a celibate life. "He should refrain from sexual intercourse. 516 According to Yainabalkya 517 he should always avoid women. Usana Samhita<sup>518</sup> lays down that he should studiously avoid maidens. Manu<sup>519</sup> says—"Let the student refrain 'from visiting women." "Let him renounce embracing and casting lustful eyes on females."520 Vātsyāyana521 says—"In his boyhoo i, one should devote himself to education and other equipments as the means of securing worldly objects in after life. He should observe absolute celibacy till he completes his education." Sambarta Samhitā<sup>522</sup> says "A student who being stricken with lust knows a woman should, being observant of regulations, perform the distressing penance of Prajapatya."

Married students were, however, not unknown. Kautilya in his Arthaśāstra<sup>5</sup>2³ refers to "married students studying abroad" The Jātakas also refer to married students who continued their studies at Benarcs as external students (Jātaka I. 463; I. 300; Ibid., 301-02). Lastly, we may refer to the instance of a teacher of 500 students at Benarcs who selects by a special test one of them for the hand of his grown-up daughter. With some teachers "there was a custom that if there should be a daughter ripe for marriage she should be given to the eldest pupil" (Jātaka III. 18; VI. 347).

"Let him sleep always alone, and let him not cast his seed (by any unnatural means). A lustful casting of one's seed kills one's vow, "524 Indeed deliberate acts resulting in loss of seed were regarded as acts of theft and of murder of embryo. 525 And the killing of human

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512 Tait. Āraņyaka II. 1.

514 III. 1.

515 I. 23; I. 28.

516 Hārīt III. 8; Gautama II; Viṣṇu XXVIII. 11.

517 I. 33.

518 III. 16.

519 II. 177.

520 Manu II. 179.

521 Kāmasūtra Bk. I. Ch. II. sls. 2-3.

522 R. Syāmasāstrī's Eng. Trans., p. 201.

524 Manu II. 180.

525 Taitt. Brāh. II, 8. 2.
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seed (viryahatyā) was as beinous a sin as the slaughter of a brīhmana or the murder of a fœtus. 596 Even unconscious emission of the vital fluid has its expiatory rites; for it implied not only loss of health and strength, and shortening of life, but also loss of intellectual and spiritual power. It was thus a sin against Indra, Agni and Brhaspati.527 A brahmana student who has unintentionally spent himself in sleep, shall bathe and worship the sun and thrice mutter the Rik running Punarmam, etc. 598 According to Samvarta Samhita<sup>529</sup> "a brahmachārin who knowingly discharges his seminal fluid, should perform the expiation consequent on the breach of the vow; and if unknowingly, he should be purified by bathing." wilful evacuation of semen Samhita 580 "a  $\mathbf{b}\mathbf{v}$ brahmacharin is pronounced as the breach of the vow by pious Brahmavädins. Having committed this sin he shall put on the skin and beg at seven houses, confessing his guilt. For a year of an ass he shall live on what he shall obtain by thus begging every day and bathe three times a day whereby he shall regain his purity." "Having unconsciously spent his seed in a dream, a brahmacharin shall bathe, and worship the sun and three times recite the Punarmam etc., verse whereby he shall regain his purity."531

"So essential was the virtue of continence" remarks Professor Venkateśwara<sup>532</sup> "that brahmacharya came to denote both continence and studentship. All our texts agree that discipline is more important than study. Agni granted Gaya the power to know the Vedas without study, simply as the result of his austerity, chastity, observances, vows and the grace of the gurus.<sup>533</sup> How to make sure of brahmacharya and to steer

Viūnahatyā and Vīryahatyā. Yathā Viūnahatyā evam eşa ("hati "yah ayonau retah siñ:hati (T. A. II. 8. 2). Ā no vīro jāyatām in seā ("Sam., II. 1. Kuṣmāṇdairjuhuyāt yo āpūtā iva manyate, and yada vāchino Viūnahatyāyāh tasmāt muchyate (T. A. II. 8. 3).

F27 Tait. Arapyaka II. 8.

<sup>526</sup> Manu II. 181.

<sup>599</sup> I. 28.

<sup>550</sup> XXVIII. 48-50. 551 Vishna XXVIII. 51.

<sup>182</sup> Indian Culture Through the Ages, Vol. I. pp. 138-40.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Mahabharata, Adiparya, 66, 2f.

clear of passions and temptatious when youth passed into adolescence. This subject was one of anxious care among the ancients. Manu has a simple recipe .for counteracting sexual inclinations and the premature awakening of the sexual impulse. 'Give the mind absorbing work and the body plentiful exercise in the open air'. Sexual ideas breed in the darkness of the closed room and in the luxury of comfortable heds and belongings. Hence the unanimous condemnation in all the scriptures Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina, of unguents and perfumes, flowers and high seats, beds, sandal, music etc., which capture the mind through the gateways of the Some of the texts like the Anugita, 534 forbid secular music even to the family man, on the ground that it would stimulate the senses to an undue extent. Further, the young men were to go out for alms and do other work of a strenuous and tiring nature A story in the Pausyaparba of the Mahabharata illustrates this somewhat Spartan rigour and the privations to which students were inured. Lastly, they were trained up to regard with a brotherly eye all the tender-eyed maidens of the neighbourhood who bestowed alms, and the guru's wife and other members of his household, with whom they were on familiar terms. The Hindu system was thus a contrast to the Egyptian. In the latter, the sight of strange girls was to be avoided; in the former ladies were looked on as mothers and sisters, so that the carnal idea was put out of place inspite of social freedom. The only exception was in the Buddhist and Jaina monasteries, where young men lived in bands and the vice of homosexuality appears to have prevailed, as in modern times in hostels and boarding houses, as described by Havelock Ellis."535

(h) Mental and moral discipline.—The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa 536 requires the brahmachārin to overcome the same passions, viz., caste-pride (brahma-varchasam), fame, sleep, anger, bragging, personal beauty and fragrance which are correlated respectively with the antelope, the teacher, the python, the boar, the water, maidens, trees and plants. If he clothes himself in the skin of the antelope, he obtains

<sup>884</sup> S. B. E. Vol. VIII. p. 208. Compare Gautama II. 13 and Manu II. 178.

<sup>555</sup> Studies in the Psychology of Sex, Vol p. 97.

<sup>545</sup> II. 1. 2. 1-9.

brahmavarchasam; if he works for his teacher, he obtains fame for the latter; if though sleepy, he abstains from sleep, he obtains the sleep that is in the python; if humble in spirit, he does not injure any one in anger, he obtains the anger that is in the boar; if he does not perform braggart tricks in the water, he obtains the braggadocio that is in the water; if he does not look at a naked maiden, he obtains the beauty that is in the maiden; if he does not smell plants and trees, after having cut them, be becomes himself fragrant. 537

He should have control over his senses. 588 "He should curb his annetito arms".5 40 He should renounce lust, 541 and greed.544 fear,545 hatred.546 anger,549 discontent,543 falsehood.547 pride (māna), 548 idleness, 549 mada, 550 moha, 551 chapalata, 559 wicknedness. 558 envy. 554 conversation. 556 malice. 555 useless gossips 557 lowd talk, 558 obscene words, 559 sleep 560 (too much sleeping), idle glances at the sun, 561 idle strolls, 562 ignorance, 563 abusive language, 564 harsh words, 565 detracting other people, 566 calumny, 567 intoxication, 569 looking at women, 570 conversing with women. 571 with sudras 579 and with notorious impure persons, 573

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556 Manu II. 178 : Usana III 15.
587 Atharvaveda-Bloomfield, p. 111.
                            540 Gautama II.
550 Vasistha VII.
*41 Manu II. 178; Uśana III. 17; Gautama II.
542 Manu II, 178; Uśanā III, 15; Uśanā III, 17; Gautama II; Mahābhārata, Udyoga-
        parba, 43rd adhyāya.
548 Vyāsa 1. 29; Mahābhārata, Adiparba, 91st adhyāya.
Manu II, 178; Gautama II; Mahābhārata, Udyogaparba, 39th adhyāya.
545 Usana III. 17: Gautama II.
                                      546 Vyāsa I. 28.
                                                            547 Manu II, 179; Taitt.
Mahābhārata, Udyogaparba, 43rd adhyāya.
                                                                    Brāh. II. 8. 7.
840 Mahābhārata, Udyogaparba, 39th adhyāya.
                                                ** Ibid.
                                                                 **1 Ibid.
                                                Vyāsa I. 28; Sāmkhya III. 12.
559 Ibid.
                           883 Usana III. 8.
                                                557 Manu II. 179.
** Vyāsa I. 28.
                           *56 Hārīt III. 8.
                                                        560 Usana III. 17.
556 Vignu XXVIII. 11.
                           5'0 Yājūabālkya I. 33.
                                                        562 Vyāsa I. 29.
561 Vyāsa I. 28; Yājnabālkya I. 33.
                                                        565 Yājnabālkya I. 33.
                           864 Visnu XXVIII, 11.
558 Gantama II.
                                  Vyāsa I 28; Sāmkhya III. 12; Yājňabālkya I. 33;
* 55 Usana III. 18.
*** Manu II. 129.
                                         Gautama II.
                                 570 Usana III. 18; Mahabharata, Santiparba, 213th
559 Vyasa I. 28.
571 Usanā III. 18; Usanā III. 21;
                                                      adhyāya.
        Mahabharata, Santiparba, 572 Usana III. 21.
                                                       578 Usana III. 21.
        213th adhyāya.
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injuring other people, 574 hurtful feelings, 575 female company, 576 thievish propensities and service of the mean. 577 He should be impartial, 578 of sweet speech 579 and devout in spirit. 580 He should abstain from riding on horses and elephants. 581 He should forego the use of vehicles of all kinds. 582 "He was not to run when it rained or to tread on gold or on the lotus flower; he was to refrain from voiding rheum or committing nuissance in the mass of waters intended for bathing in."588 He must avoid dancing 584 and singing. 585 He should abstain from playing on musical instruments. 586 He should refrain from all music.<sup>587</sup> He should avoid gambling.<sup>588</sup> Manu<sup>590</sup> says:-" Let He should renounce gambling with dice. 589 him (the brahmachārin) refrain from killing animals and doing injury' to them."591 According to Usana592 he should studiously avoid the destruction of small animals. According to Gautama<sup>593</sup> he should renounce all killing propensities.

That some of these rules were actually enforced is evident from the case of Prince Ayu who was expelled from the school by Chyavan for having killed a bird with an arrow near by. Even the royal visitors had to observe the rules of discipline while in the school compound. King Duşmanta had to withdraw his arrow aimed at a deer at the request of the hermit teacher. When in quest of Rāma Bharata started for Chitrakūta hill he did not dare to enter the hermitage of Varadwāja with his troops but asked them to stay at a respectful distance of two miles lest they caused disturbance (āśramapīdā) there. \*\*5.54\*\*

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      574 Uśanā III. 18.
      575 Viṣṇu XXVIII. 11.

      576 Sāṃkhya III. 12.
      577 Gautama II.
      578 Uśanā III. 20.
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<sup>579</sup> Uśanā III. 15; Vyāsa I. 36.
581 Hārīt III. 9.
582 Gautama II.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Taitt. Āraņyaka I. 26; II. 8, 7; Taitt. Sam, II. 1.

Härit III. 8; Uśanā III. 17; Vyāsa I. 28; Sāmkhya III. 12; Viṣṇu XXVIII. 11; Manu II. 178.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Hārīt III. 8; Usanā III. 17; Usanā III. 20; Vyāsa I. 28; Sāmkhya III. 12; Visnu XXVIII 11; Manu II. 178.

<sup>587</sup> Sāmkhya III. 12; Manu II. 178; Gautama II. 588 Usanā III. 17; Gautama II.

<sup>500</sup> Manu II. 179.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Yājňabālkya I 33. \*\* III. 16. \*\* Ch. II.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Rāmāyaņa, Ayodhyākāņda, 89th and 91st sargas.

All these conditions of studentship and rules governing Vedic studies seem to be very severe to us now; they seem to have made the life of the student miscrable, as he was denied all worldly pleasures and had to live a beggar's or a menial's life in the house of a stranger. Indeed, such restrictions might kill cheerfulness but they materially helped in the attainment of the spiritual ideal of the then education. They made students highly moral in conduct and respectful in behaviour. In doing physical labour at the teacher's house, on his field and pasture, the students developed their limbs and muscles in the fresh air and sunlight. The moral side received direct training in the morning and evening prayers, in the study of the religious texts and in the performance of the sacrificial ritual. The intellectual side was touched in hearing explanations of mantras and hymns, in the observation of Nature and the preparation of the material at the sacrifice, domestic or public. Memory and imagination received the greatest attention, as from start to finish, lessons were learnt by heart and as various mystical ideas about dcities and gods were heard from the teachers. In fact the marvellous and elaborate system of sacrifices were the product of the incomparable flights of the imagination of the priesthood. We may laugh at the old brahmachāri not taking sweets, living in a lonely place, having light meals, turning away his ears from music, etc.; but unless the bodily senses are trained up and controlled in some such way, it is impossible for a human being to check his actions and desires. Indeed by means of these external practices and regulations, it was sought to develop in the young pupils those internal conditions (pratyasanna or direct as opposed to bahya) or mental and moral attributes which would afterwards fit them for being taught the highest knowlege. Such a regulated life results in "inner freedom" which cannot come off by itself or at will. Philosophers have proved that the unit of change is both physical and spiritual and that the one precedes the other. You cannot begin at the top. The bodily unit is the place where you can commence a change and make a slow but sure progress till in course of time you find your mind as well as your body completely transformed. Hence the ancient Hindus created such an atmosphere as kept the ai.n of his stay in the teacher's house brightly before the pupil's eye

and as such created a necessity for him to put forw his preceptor's effort to accomplish it. Educationists tell us that to without due effort on the part of the pupil and to enlist it in line vr. 626 Let are the chief purposes of teaching. Pestalozzi did not give him not importance to "interest" in education as to "self-effort" on thi. 628 of the student. The Hindus then were so far successful in their attempn though the effort of the student was accompanied with something like ascetic gloom.

# § 8. RESPECT TO TEACHER.

There were rules also for the respect due from pupil to teacher. Respect to teacher was also a part of Aśoka's Law of Picty. <sup>595</sup> Strict obedience was enjoined unless the teacher ordered the pupil to commit crimes which involved loss of caste. <sup>596</sup> Even having been reprimanded by his preceptor, he should not make any reply in retort, nor go away even when driven away by the former. (Vyāsa I. 27). "An infringement of the preceptor's order makes all studies of the Vedas abortive. Hence one should study them in a submissive spirit." <sup>597</sup>

He should not cleanse his teeth or prick his ear-holes or stretch or screw up his legs or sit with his chin supporting on his hand or laugh or yawn or contort his limbs or twist his body, in the presence of his preceptor (Gautama II). By the side of his preceptor he shall eat food and wear garments inferior to those of his preceptor. By the side of his preceptor he shall always occupy a lower bed or seat. He shall lie down in a lower bed than that of his preceptor and sleep after he has slept, leaving his bed before he rises. He should avoid sitting on the same bed or seat with his preceptor or at a place where his preceptor sits; 601 "except in a boat, 602 or in a carriage 603 or on a stone slab"604 or in a bullock cart, "in a court-yard or in the terrace of a building or a large mattress of reeds."605 "He must not sit with his guru when

<sup>895</sup> Rock Edict IX; Minor Rock Edict II.

<sup>596</sup> Apastamba I. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>597</sup> Vyāsa I. 39.

<sup>508</sup> Manu II. 174.

<sup>500</sup> Manu II. 198.

<sup>800</sup> Manu II. 194; Mahābhārata, Ādiparba, 91st adhyāya; Viṣṇu XXVIII. 12-13; Gautama II.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Manu II, 119; Vişpu XXVIII. 27; Gautama II.

<sup>609</sup> Visna XXVIII. 28.

sos Ibid.

eos Ibid,

<sup>808</sup> Manu II. 204,

the wind will blowing from his direction to that of his guru or the contrary; while in his company he must not say anything which is inaudible to his guru."606

Sc. .ving a preceptor consists in hearing his behests from a lower scat in meekly and faithfully carrying them out. 607 "He should not we the preceptor (by the intervention of another) while he stands aloof Mor when he (himself) is angry, nor when a woman is near; if he is seated in a carriage or on a (raised) scat he should get down and salute his preceptor." 608 A disciple should stand up at the sight of his preceptor 609 and follow him whenever he goes out. 610 "Interrogated by his preceptor, he should give true and correct answer to his queries, sit down to study whenever he may be pleased to direct him in that behalf 611 and do nothing but what is pleasant and beneficial to him." 612 Likewise he should believe towards his preceptor's wife, 613 sons, 614 friends 615 and relations. 616 "After performing his sandhyā he shall salute his preceptor. He shall simultaneously eatch hold of the two feet of his preceptor with his two hands, the right foot with the right hand and the left foot with the left hand. After salutation he shall mention his own name (as I am such and such) and add the word 'Bhos' at the end of his address." 817 One should catch hold of one's preceptor's feet every day when first meeting him. 616 He must not speak to his preceptor when he is himself sitting, standing, lying down, eating or averting his face. 619 If his preceptor sits, let him speak to him, standing up; if he walks, advancing towards him: if he comes towards him, meeting him; if he runs, running after him; 690 turning round so as to meet him, if his face is averted (Visnu 20; Manu II. 197). Approaching him, if he is at a distance: 621 leaning to him, if he be in a reclining posture. 699 Before his eyes, let

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606 Manu II, 203.
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<sup>607</sup> Gautama II.

<sup>608</sup> Manu II. 202.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Manu II. 130; Manu II. 119; Gautama II.

<sup>610</sup> Gautama II.

<sup>611</sup> Mahābhārata, Adiparba, 91st adhyāya.

<sup>618</sup> Gautama II.

<sup>619</sup> Manu II. 210; Gautama II.

<sup>614</sup> Gautama II; Manu II, 207 615 Manu II, 207. 616 Ibid.

<sup>617</sup> Vigna XXVIII. 14-17.

<sup>618</sup> Vasistha XI; Gautama VI. \*19 Manu II. 195; Vispu XXVIII. 18. \*\*\* Manu II. 196; Vispu XXVIII. 19.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Vişpu XXVIII. 20; Mann II. 197.

<sup>\*22</sup> Vişpu XXVIII. 22; Manu II, 197.

him not sit in a careless manner. 623 He shall not utter his preceptor's name even at his back. 684 Let him not pronounce his name without due respect. 625 Let him not imitate his speech, gait and manner. 626 him not wilfully leap over the shadow of his proceptor. 697 Let him not in any way hurt or injure an acharya (and an expounder of the Vedas). 628 Let him leave the place where his guru is calumnised or lightly spoken of. 629 "A calumniator of his own guru shall be born as an ass; and a vilifier of his own guru shall be a dog in his next birth; for having wrongfully enjoyed the property of his own guru, he shall be born as a worm; one who is envious of his guru's excellence shall take his birth as an insect in his next incarnation". 680 "Having used angry words to his preceptor one should bathe at morning, noon and evening each day, live in a thatched cottage of dry leaves and on roots and bulbs of the forest, wearing large clotted hairs, lie down on bare ground in the night, enter a village for alms, proclaiming his guilt to all and sundry. For twelve years he should live the life of penance." 631 For having angrily roared unto a preceptor he should practise the above-mentioned penance. 682 Without the permission of his preceptor, let him not speak to his relatives, parents etc. 633 Even if a preceptor communicates only one letter to a disciple, there is no article on earth, by presenting which he may be free from his debt. 634 He who does not regard a preceptor, the giver of even one letter, is born among the chandalas, after having gone through a hundred births in the canine species. 685 According to Kautilya's Arthasastra the student should be devoted to his teacher even at the cost of his own life or in the absence of his teacher, to the teacher's son or to an elder class-mate. 686 Again "the teacher shall invariably be respected."637 "As a student his teacher, a son his father and a servant his master, the king shall follow (the high-priest). 638 "One should not sit on

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Vişpu XXVIII. 23; Manu II. 198.

<sup>•</sup>as Visna XXVIII. 24; Gautama II.

<sup>\*36</sup> Vişnu XXVIII.25; Manu II. 199.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Manu IV. 162.

<sup>680</sup> Manu II. 201.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Sāmkhya XVII. 56.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Atri Samhitā I. 9.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> R. Syamasastri's Eng. Trans., p. 8.

<sup>624</sup> Manu II. 199.

<sup>627</sup> Manu IV. 130.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Vişpu XXVIII. 26; Manu II. 200.

<sup>881</sup> Sānikhya XVII. 1-2 and 51.

<sup>683</sup> Visnu XXVIII. 30; Manu II. 205.

<sup>835</sup> Atri I. 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>657</sup> Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>658</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

important seats before the preceptor nor being arrogant, distort his sayings through (false) reasoning." 639 According to Sukrāchārya 640 "the ācharya or preceptor (of the king) like the father (of the king) is to sit on the same kind of good seats." We get a bright example of devotion and obedience to the teacher in the characters of Āruņi, Upamanyu and Ekalabya. 641

Show him the respect of a guru, if a preceptor's preceptor is arrived. 649 On a preceptor's son, junior or equal to him in years, happening to be his tutor, he shall pay the same respect to him as to his own preceptor. 643 "The śruti says that one must trent a teacher's son just as the teacher himself." 644 A preceptor's wife happening to be young, a disciple should not touch her feet during an act of obeisance; 645 but returning from a sojourn in a distant country, he may be allowed to catch hold of her feet 646 on the first day; on all subsequent days, he shall simply accost her without clasping her feet. 647 He should not address the sons or wife of his preceptor by their names and avoid using any harsh language. 648

If a teacher dies, one should not read the Vedas for three nights. 649 A man remains unclean for three days on the death of a spiritual preceptor or of a wife or son of his spiritual preceptor. 650 One becomes purified in one night, if the wife or son of his teacher or his upadhyaya or a fellowstudent or a pupil is dead. 651 On the death of his preceptor, unto a qualified son of his or unto his widow or unto a cognate of his, he shall behave as his preceptor. 652 The property of bachelors learning the Vedas shall on their death be taken by their preceptors. 653

A development of the rules regulating the conduct of the pupil to his preceptor was the exhaltation of the teacher to such a position of

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636 Sukranītisāra, Ch. III. lines 326-27.
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<sup>•40</sup> Ibid., Ch. I. line 720.

<sup>\*42</sup> Mahābhārata, Ādiparba, 132nd adhyāya.

<sup>\*42</sup> Vișpu XXVIII. 29; Manu II. 205; Vasiștha XI.

<sup>\*4.</sup> Manu II. 208; Vişnu XXVIII. 31.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Vasistha XI; Gantama II.

Manu II, 212; Gautama II.

<sup>\*46</sup> Manu II. 217; Gautama II.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Manu II. 217.

<sup>648</sup> Gantama II.

<sup>\*4</sup> Vasistha XI.

<sup>650</sup> Gautama XIV.

<sup>681</sup> Visnu XXII. 43.

<sup>459</sup> Manu II. 247.

<sup>488</sup> R. Syamasastri's Eng. Trans., p. 242.

reverence that he was worshipped by his pupil. 654 In the schools of early Vedanta, the teacher or guru was always one who was himself supposed to have reached emancipation and thus to have come to the realisation that he is Brahman. In his devotion or bhakti for Brahman. it was but a short step for the pupil to feel bhakti also for the guru who was thus identified with Brahman. This is referred to as early as the Svetāśvatara Upanisad 655 but it received a great emphasis in all the chief Bhakti scots. A spiritual guide and a teacher are to be particularly adored. 656 A teacher is the foremost of all superiors. 657 Of one's two fathers, the progenitor and the teacher of the Vedas, more honoured is the teacher of the Vedas in as much as the birth of a twice-born one in the knowledge of Brahman is the only abiding existence both in this world and the next. 658 The pupil should consider his preceptor as his father and mother; he must not grieve them by saying 'I am indebted to none'. 659 One's mother, father and preceptor are called one's great gurus. 660 One must perpetually serve them. 661 Let him obey their commands. 662 Let him do what is pleasant and beneficial to them. 663 Without their leave he should not do anything. 664 "Let him constantly do what is good to his parents and specially what conduces to the comfort of his preceptor. The satisfaction of these three is the consummation of all tapas (penitential austerities)." 665 Serving these constitutes the highest tapas; without their permission let him not practise any other piety. 666 "These three represent the three regions, the three orders of society. They are the three Vedas, they are the three fires. The father is the household fire, the mother is the ceremonial fire, the preceptor

<sup>684</sup> Furguhar, Crown of Hinduism, p. 402.

ess VI. 23. ess Usana I. 30. esy Gautama II.

Manu II. 146; Vişnu XXX. 44; Mahābhārata, Sāntiparba, 108th adhyāya; compare Mahābhārata, Sāntiparba, 243rd adhyāya.

<sup>659</sup> Vasistha II.

Vişnu XXXI. 1-2. In the Rămāyaṇa, (Kişkindhyakāṇḍa, 18th sarga we are told that the eldest brother, the progenitor and the teacher are all fathers.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Vişnu XXXI. 3. \*\*\* Vişnu XXXI. 4.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Vişnu XXXI. 5; Manu II. 235. \*\*\* Vişnu XXXI. 6; Manu II. 236.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Manu II. 228.

<sup>•••</sup> Manu II. 229 : Manu II. 235, 237.

is the spiritual fire. These three fires are the most glorious in the world." 667 "A householder who does not commit any folly in respect of these conquers the three regions; effulgent as a god, he even in his mortal frame, is enabled to enjoy the felicity of heaven." 668 By means of devotion to his father he conquers the middle world (firmament) and by devotion to his preceptor he attains to the region of Brahmā. 669 Commendable are all the acts of him by whom these three are respected. Futile are the acts of him by whom these three are dishonoured. 670 By worshipping his preceptor alone and not so much through the merit of oblations, homa or fireworship, that a brahmachārin can attain to heaven. 671 This was, of course, an honour paid to a religious teacher but it had an effect upon the relation of all pupils and teachers and helps to explain the high respect which Indian students of today have even for a teacher of secular subjects.

#### § 9. THE ANNUAL TERM.

The session (or annual term) began in the rainy or cold season when the heat was less intense. The commencement (of Vedic study) must take place on the full moon day either of the months of Āṣārḍha, Śrāvaṇa or Bhādra." <sup>672</sup> In the Rāmāyaṇa <sup>673</sup> we are told that "brāhmaṇas of the Sāma school are waiting for the month of Bhādra which is the time for beginning their Vedic studies". According to Gautama Saṃhitā <sup>674</sup> one should read the Vedas in the months of Śrāvaṇa and Bhādra or during the five months the sun follows the southern course. Vaśiṣṭha Saṃhitā <sup>675</sup> says: "The Upakarman (the rite preparatory to Vedic study) shall be done on the full moon day of the month of Śrāvaṇa or Prausthapada". According to Viṣṇu Saṃhitā <sup>676</sup> the rite of Upakarman is to be performed on the full moon day of the month of Śrāvaṇa and Bhādra. For we are told <sup>677</sup> that it was then that the herbs appeared amid the glad

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Manu II. 230-31; Vinu XXXI. 7-8.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Manu II, 232. \*\* Manu II, 233; Viṣṇu XXXI, 10.

<sup>•70</sup> Vişnu XXXI. 9; Mahābhārata, Santiparba, 108th adhyāya.

<sup>671</sup> Samkhya V. 9. 672 Usana Samhita III. 55.

<sup>676</sup> Kişkindhyakanda, 28th sarga.

<sup>674</sup> Ch. XVI.

<sup>675</sup> Ch. XI.

ere Ch. XXX.

<sup>• 77</sup> Sankhyāyans, IV, 5, 2.

grass and all Nature smiled with the pulsation of a fresh life. was also the commencement of the Vedic year, when the frogs broke into a croaking harmony and when the Vedic students returned to their chant. According to Yajñabalkya 678 "when medicinal herbs grow on the full moon day of Sravana or on a day under the Sravana asterism or on the fifth day of Hasta asterism (name of the 13th luner mansion consisting of five stars) one should begin the study of the Vedas". The Upakarman rite was performed annually before the commencement of the study of the Veda. 679 "Having kindled the sacred fire he (the student) shall offer oblations to the deities and the sacred metres. Having made oblations to the sacred metres, having made the brahmanas utter words of wellbeing and after having fed them with curd he shall continue the Vedic study for four months and a half and then perform the Utsarga (a dedicatory rite performed annually after the completion of the Voda)." 680 "After a study of four months and a half" says the Visnu Samhita 681 "the rite of Utsarga shall be done, outside the town, in respect of the Vedas which have been completely studied and not in respect of those whose studies have not then been completed". According to Usanz Samhita 682 "after a study of four months and a half in a holy place, one should perform the dedicatory rite of the Vedas under the constellation of Puṣyā. Or he should do it in the first part of the first day of the month of Magha". According to Yajñabalkya Samhita 688 "On a day under the Rohini asterism in the month of Pous or on an Astaka tithi, one should near water, at the outskirt of a village, duly consecrate one's Vedic studies".

After the Utsarga rite the twice-born ones should study the Vedas in the light fortnight.<sup>684</sup> In the dark fortnight a person should study the Vedangas and the Puranas.<sup>685</sup> According to Vasistha Samhitā (Ch. XI.) after the Utsarga rite he shall study the Vedas during the light fortnight and the Vedangas at pleasure. According to Visnu Samhitā,<sup>686</sup> however,

<sup>678</sup> I. 142.

<sup>679</sup> Kātyāyana Samhitā XXVII. 17.

<sup>681</sup> XXX. 1-2.

<sup>688</sup> I. 143.

ess Usana III, 58.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Vasistha XI; Kātyāyana XXVII. 17.

<sup>682</sup> III. 55-57.

<sup>684</sup> Usana III, 57.

<sup>656</sup> XXX. 3.

the Vedangas should not be studied between the rites of Utsarga and Upakarman."

The length of the annual term to be spent in Vedic study was thus usually four months and a half, 687 though the term may be two months, 688 five months, 689 five months and a half or six months and a half or six months and a half or six months.

### § 10. DAYS OF NON-STUDY.

During the academic year there were numerous holidays and interruptions of study. Thus at Upakarman and at Utsarga the Vedas should not be studied for three days. The study should be stopped for one whole day or night on Amābasyā. The Vedas should not be studied on the new moon day; according to Gautama (Ch. XVI.) for two days from the day of the new moon; on the full moon day; on the fourteenth day of the two fortnights; on the eighth day of the two fortnights; on the twelfth day of the fortnight; on the day of solar eclipse; or for three days on the solar eclipse (for brāhmaṇa students); when the sun is observed to be surrounded by a ring of haloe; on the day of lunar eclipse; or for three days on the lunar eclipse (for brāhmaṇa students); when the moon is observed to be surrounded

<sup>687</sup> Usanā III. 56; Visnu XXX. 1; Vasistha XI.

<sup>668</sup> Gantama XVI.

<sup>689</sup> Gautama XVI.

<sup>690</sup> Sänkhyäyana IV, 6, 7; Vasistha XI.

<sup>691</sup> Aswalayana, III, 5, 14.

Vājnabālkya I. 142; Uśanā III. 71; Vasistha XXX. 24-25; Manu IV. 119.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Yajnabalkya I. 146; Harit IV. 71; Usana III. 70.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Vašistha XI; Manu IV. 113; Sāmkhya III. 15; compare Manu IV. 114.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Yājñabālkya I. 146; Hārīt IV. 71; Uśanā III. 70; Sāmkhya III. 5; Manu IV. 113; Gautama XVI; compare Manu IV. 11?.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Yājñabālkya I. 146; Uśunā III. 70; Sāṃkhya III. 5; Vaśiṣṭha XI; Manu IV. 113; compare Manu IV. 114.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Yājūabālkya I. 146; Uśauā III 70; Sāṃkhya III 5; Viṣṇu XXX. 4; Vaśiṣtha XI; Manu IV. 113.

<sup>696</sup> Hārīt IV. 71; Manu IV. 105; Viṣṇu XXX. 5; Sāṇkhya III. 5; Vasiṣtha XI; compare Manu IV. 110.

<sup>•••</sup> Yājňabālkya I. 146. 700 Ušanā III. 67.

<sup>701</sup> Gautama XVI; Manu IV. 105; Vişnu XXX. 5; Sāmkhya III. 5; Vasiştha XI; compare Manu IV. 1.0.

vos Yajnabalkya I. 146.

<sup>108</sup> Usans III. 67.

by a ring of haloe; 104 on the junction of the seasons (i. e., on the Pratipada day of Chaitra, Srāvaņa and Agrahāyana); 705 at the termination of the seasons; 708 in the unnatural season of the year; 707 on the Mahanavami day; 708 on the third day of the bright half of Vaisakha;709 on the seventh day of the fortnight in the month of Māgha; 710 on the Rathya Saptamī; 711 on the Bharanī; 712 on the Astakas;718 on the birth of the king's son for three days (for brahmana students only);714 on the death of the king of one's country;715 on the day of the hoisting or throwing down of the enemy's standard. 716 It is interesting to follow the reasons assigned for these breaks. Manu says that study in the prohibited lunar days was detrimental to the health of the teacher or of the student and did not conduce to the growth of learning. The first day of the fortnight was considered the most objectionable and we have reference to this in the Ramayana 717 where Sita is described as emaciated 'even as the learning of one who habitually studies on the first day of the fortnight'. Aśoka in his Pillar Inscription V, attaches special importance to these days, on which he forbids the castration of bulls and the killing of fish and

<sup>704</sup> Gautama XVI.

<sup>706</sup> Uśana III. 71; Visna XXX. 5.

<sup>706</sup> Hārīt IV. 71.

<sup>710</sup> Hārīt IV. 72.

<sup>712</sup> Hārit IV. 71.

<sup>705</sup> Yājňabālkya I. 146.

<sup>707</sup> Gantama XVI.

<sup>709</sup> Harit IV. 71.

<sup>711</sup> Hārīt IV. 72.

Vis Usana III. 71; Vasistha XI; Manu IV. 113; Comparo Manu IV. 114 and IV. 119.

According to Gautama (Ch. XVI.) one should refrain from studying the Vedas for three nights on the advent of the Astakas. "According to other authorities" says he (Ch. XVI.) "such prohibition exists only in respect of the last Astaka".

Vsanž III. 67; Manu IV. 110. In Bhababhūti's Uttara-Rama-Charita Act. IV. (Belvarkar's Eng. Trans., p. 60) we find the pupils of Vālmīki's hermitage delighted at the thought that the royal guests would bring with them a holiday for the school.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>715</sup> Gautama XVI. In the Rāmāyaṇa, (Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 48th sarga) we find that all study and fāstric discussions were stopped when Rāma left Ayodhyā for Daṇḍakāraṇya forest where he was banished.

<sup>\*16</sup> Yājūabālkya I, 147,

<sup>\*1</sup> Sundarakāņda, LIX. 34: Pratipatpāthašīlasya vidyeva tanutām gita.

other creatures. We are to seek for an explanation probably in the ritualistic importance of these days, and it was based on the phases of the Moon, as was natural among a people following a luni-solar calendar.

The Vedas should not be studied on the following occasions:—For three days on the death of either a disciple, 718 or a ritwik, 719 or a priest, 720 or a preceptor, 721 or a friend, 722 or a śrotrīya studying the same branch of the Veda, 723 or a fellow-religious student (Uśanz III. 74; Vaśiṣṭha XI). The Velas should not be studied on the death of a teacher's son or wife for one day. 724 The Vedas should not be studied for one whole day and night when one partakes of food and accepts presents on the occasion of a śrāddha; 725 or when he had touched the leavings of food offered at a śrāddha; 726 and for three days on a brāhmaṇa's accepting invitation for the Ekoddhiṣta śrāddha. 727 The study should also be stoppoed during the period of uncleanness incidental to the death of a sapiṇḍa or cognate relation; 728 during a period of uncleanness; 729 during birth-uncleanness; 730 during death-uncleanness; 731 on the occasion of a śrāddha ceremony (Gautama XVI.); after offering food at a śrāddha; 752 and on the occasion of a friendly feast. 735

The fundamental condition of inspiring thought is peace within oneself and harmony with Nature's forces. Hence when one shall see thunder, lightning, etc., rise in the morning and evening when the sacred fire is lit up, he should not study the Vedas; in any other scasons except the rainy, on seeing a cloud.<sup>734</sup> According to Manu,<sup>735</sup> however, if these phenomena

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vie Yājnabālkya I. 144. vie Yājnabālkya I. 144. vasistha XI.
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<sup>721</sup> Yājňabālkya I. 144; Uśanā III. 74; Vašistha XI.

<sup>728</sup> Yājňabālkya I. 144. 728 Uśanā III. 74; Yājňabālkya I. 144.

<sup>784</sup> Vasistha XI.

vas Yājnabālkya I. 146; Uśanā III. 66; Vašistha X; Vašistha XI; Manu IV. 109; compare Manu. IV. 116 and IV. 117.

<sup>730</sup> Uśanā III. 66. 727 Uśanā III. 67; Manu IV. 110.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Sāṃkhya III. 6. Tan Sāṃkhya XV. 24.

<sup>780</sup> Manu IV. 112; Gautama XVI. 731 Manu IV. 112; Gautama XVI.

<sup>782</sup> Vasiştha X. 788 Gautama XVI.

<sup>784</sup> Usana III. 61; Manu IV. 104; comparé Usana III. 63. 788 IV. 104.

occur at the time of kindling the homa fire in the evening during the rainy season they should not be regarded as occasions of non-study. The finishing of the Veda and the study of the Āranyakas should be stopped for one day and night when there is roaring of clouds in the morning and evening. 786 When there is an ominous sound in the sky, 787 when a downpour of rain takes place accompanied by the flashing of lightning and the roaring of clouds 758 the Vedas should not be studied. From the time of rain with thunder and lightning to the next day the Vedas should not be studied. 739 When there is an ominous sound in the mountains 740 or an earthquake 741 or showering of sand 748 or showering of stones 743 or showering of blood 744 or dropping of fire-brands,745 the Vedas should not be studied; nor when luminous bodies fall<sup>746</sup> nor during the appearance of the magnetic light in the western sky747 nor when the muttering of thunder is heard748 nor on the descent of thunder-bolts in unnatural seasons of the year 149 nor on a day covered with mist750 nor when purple rainbows are observed to separate the firmament<sup>751</sup> nor when the Samans are sung<sup>752</sup> nor at the two sandhyas 753 nor when there is any sound of arrow, 754 any sound of trumpet, 755 any sound of drum 756 nor where the crying

Yājñabālkya I. 145; Yājñabālkya I. 149; Sāmkhya III.6; Gautama XVI; Vasistha XI.

vəv Yajnabalkya I. 145; Usana III. 62; Vasistha XI.

<sup>788</sup> Usana III. 49; Vişnu XXX. 8; Gautama XVI.

<sup>780</sup> Manu IV. 103. 740 Vasistha XI.

Yājñabālkya I. 145; Uśanā III. 62; Sāmkhya III. 5; Viṣnu XXX. 9; Manu IV. 105; Gautama XVI; Vaśiṣṭha XI.

<sup>742</sup> Vasistha XI.

<sup>748</sup> Vasistha XI.

<sup>744</sup> Vasistha XI. 745 Yājňabālkya I. 145; Usanā II2. 49.

Vása Ušana III. 62; Samkhya III. 5; Gautama XVI; Vašistha XI, Visnu XXX. 9; Manu IV. 103; compare Manu IV. 115.
747 Visnu XXX. 9.

Yājñabālkya I. 199; Vasistha XI; Viṣṇu XXX. 8; Uśanā III. 61; Sāṃkhya III. 6; Gautama XVI.

<sup>749</sup> Gautama XVI.; Vasistha XI. 780 Usana III. 70; Gautama XVI.

<sup>781</sup> Gautama XVI.

Yājňabālkya I. 148; Gantama XVI; Vasistha XI; Visnu XXX. 26; Manu IV. 123.

<sup>758</sup> Usanā III. 70.

<sup>754</sup> Yājňabālkya I. 148; Uśanā III. 70; Vašiṣṭha XI; Manu IV. 118.

<sup>755</sup> Gautama XVI, 756 Gautama XVI,

sound is heard (Uśanz III. 65; Manu IV. 108) nor when the cry of a person in danger is heard <sup>757</sup> nor when a king, a śrotriya or a brāhmaņa has met with an accident <sup>758</sup> nor on hearing the sound of weeping in the evening <sup>759</sup> nor when hearing the sound of music <sup>760</sup> nor when high winds blow <sup>761</sup> nor on the night when a roaring wind blows <sup>768</sup> nor when ominous dust is showered <sup>763</sup> nor on the day when a dusty wind blows (Uśanz III. 59) nor when the quarters are ablaze <sup>764</sup> nor at the periods of conjunction <sup>765</sup> nor in the evening <sup>766</sup> nor in the middle of the night <sup>767</sup> nor in the nights (Uśanz III. 71). "Several authorities aver that the study of the Vedas is prohibited during the first three hours and a half of each night". <sup>768</sup>

The Vedas should not be studied for one whole day and night on a paśu (animals which are 14 in number, viz., cow, sheep, goat, horse, mule, ass and man—these domestic and buffalo, monkey, bear, reptile, ruru-deer, spotted antelope and deer—these wild ones) happening to pass between a student and his preceptor; <sup>769</sup> on the passing of a five-toed animal between the pupil and his preceptor; <sup>770</sup> on the passing of a toad, a cat, a dog, a snake, mungoose or a mouse between the pupil and his preceptor. <sup>771</sup> The Vedas should not be studied for one whole day and night when a dog; <sup>772</sup> a jackal <sup>773</sup> an ass<sup>774</sup> or an owl (Yājňabālkya I. 148) emits a noise and when camels scream. <sup>775</sup>

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757 Yājňabālkya I. 148. 758 Vişņu XXX. 23. 759 Hārīt IV. 73.
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<sup>700</sup> Samkhya III. 6; Vişnu XXX. 13.

Yajñabālkya I. 149; Manu IV. 122; Vişnu XXX. 7.

<sup>762</sup> Uśanā III. 59. Manu IV. 102.

<sup>703</sup> Yājňabālkya I. 149; Gantama II.; Manu IV. 102; Manu IV. 115.

<sup>764</sup> Yājnabālkya I. 149; Sāmkhya III. 6; Gautama XVI; Manu IV. 118.

<sup>765</sup> Yājňabālkya I. 150; Vasistha XI.; Manu IV. 113.

Yama Samhitā I. 76; compare Ibid., 77.

<sup>767</sup> Yājnabālkya I. 150; Usanā III. 66; Manu IV. 109.

<sup>769</sup> Yājňabālkya I. 147; Manu IV. 126. 770 Viṣṇn XXX. 22.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Manu IV. 126; compare Gautama I.

Yājňabālkya I. 148; Gautama XVI; Viṣṇu XXX. 12; Manu IV. 115.

<sup>778</sup> Yajnabalkya I. 148; Gautama XVI; Vişnu XXX. 12; Manu IV. 115.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Yajfiabalkya I. 148; Gautama XVI; Vişpu XXX. 12; Manu IV. 115.

<sup>475</sup> Mant IV. 115,

The Vedas should not be studied in a very loud voice. 776 in an impure state. 777 when feeling amative proponsities (Samkhya III. 6), when within water, 778 in a town, 779 in a forest, 780 in unwashed mouth after eating, 781 when the hand is yet wet after eating, 782 after meals, 783 where the four roads meet, 784 by the side of a high road, 785 near an unholy place, 788 in a pasture ground, 787 near a cremation ground, 788 near a divine temple, 789 near an unholy object, 790 seated on an anthill. 791 near the side of an ant-hill, 792 near a Phallic emblem, 798 near a dead body, 794 at places containing carcasses, 798 at the outskirt of a village (Manu IV. 116), near a sūdra, 796 near a chandāla (divakirti), 797 near a man of degraded caste, 798 near an impious man, 799 near a fallen person. 800 near the performer of a śrāddha ceremony who has not fed the brāhmaņas with boiled rice, 801 near an irreligious person; 809 in a village inhabited by low caste people, 803 near a troop of soldiers,804 and where there is a multitude of men. 805 The brāhmanas should not read the Vedas in a company. 806 The Vedas should not be studied while fighting or

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776 Sāmkhva III. 7.
                                              777 Yājñabālkya I. 149.
778 Yājūsbālkys I. 150; Uśanā III. 66; Viņu III. 16; Manu IV. 109.
779 Gautama XVI.
                                              780 Manu IV. 113.
                                  782 Yājňabālkya I. 149; Vašistha XI.
781 Manu IV. 109.
                                     784 Visnu XXX. 15.
*** Manu IV. 121; Vasistha XI.
788 Visnu XXX. 15; Gautama XVI.
                                               786 Yājnabālkya I. 148.
787 Manu IV. 116.
788 Sāukhya III. 7; Gautama XVI; Visnu XXX. 15; Manu IV. 116.
                                                  790 Yājňabālkya I. 148.
ves Samkhya III. 7: Visnu III. 15.
791 Gautama XVI.
                        792 Samkhya III. 7.
                                                  793 Sāmkhya III. 7.
To4 Yājnabālkya I. 149.
                                                  798 Gautama XVI.
*** Yājñabālkya I. 199; Gautama XVI; Visnu XXX. 14.
                        706 Yājňabālkya I. 148; Visnu XXX. 14.
797 Gautama XVI.
                                        eoo Yājnabālkya I. 149.
709 Manu IV. 108.
601 Gautama XVI.
                        602 Usana III. 65.
                                                 803 Usana III. 65.
604 Manu IV. 121.
                                          808 Usana III. 65; Manu IV. 107, 108.
*04 Manu IV. 15. Compare:
            "Uneven grounds, unsafe and windy spots,
              And hiding places and god-haunted shires,
              High roads and bridges and all bathing ghats,
              These eight avoid when talking of high things. "A
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-Milinda-Panha, IV. 1. 8.

807 Manu IV. 121.

wrangling, 807 while running, 808 while in a state of fright, 809 when any fear proceeds either from a king<sup>810</sup> or a robber or a thief, <sup>811</sup> when there are village disturbances; 812 in a battle, 818 in a camp, 814 when a bad smell comes: 815 when a good person arrives at the house, 816 on the return of a friend from a foreign country,817 without taking the permission of the guest in the house; 818 while going on an ass, 819 or on a camel, 820 or on a chariot, 821 or on an elephant, 822 or on a horse, 823 or in a boat,894 or in a carriage; 825 while on a tree, 896 or under the shade of śleśmataka, śālmalī, madhuka, kovidara and kapithwa trees; 827 in a desert; 828 during an indigestion, 829 after a sour rising, 830 while passing excreta, 831 after having purged, 832 while rubbing oil, 888 while passing urine, 834 on the day he has vomited, 835 while bathing, 836 while he leaps. 837 while leaning against something; 838 on seeing a dead body carried, 839 in a town where a corpse lies, 840 in a town where chandllas live (Vasistha XI), on seeing a dead body placed on earth; 841 while lying down, 842 while seated with a leg cocked

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809 Gautama XVI.
                                 8 10 Manu IV. 118.
811 Yājūabālkya I. 150; Manu IV. 118.
812 Samkhya III. 6.
                                 818 Manu IV. 121; Vișpu XXX. 11.
814 Vasistha XI.
818 Yājnabālkya I. 150; Usanā III. 64; Gautama XVI; Vasistha XI; Manu IV. 107.
818 Yājñabālkva I 150.
                                817 Gautama XVI.
                                                     818 Manu IV. 122.
e19 Yājñabālkya I. 151; Manu IV. 120.
820 Yājñabālkya I. 151; Manu IV. 120; Vişnu XXX. 17.
821 Yājñabālkya I. 151.
                                     828 Viśnu XXX. 17; Manu IV. 120.
828 Yājñabālkya I. 151; Viṣṇu XXX. 17; Manu IV. 120.
894 Yājnabālkya I. 151; Vasistha XI; Visna XXX. 17; Manu IV. 120.
828 Gantama XVI; Vişnu XXX. 17; Manu IV. 120.
898 Yājňabālkya I. 151; Vašištha XI; Manu IV. 120.
                                                      827 Usanā III. 73.
*28 Yājñabālkya I. 151.
                                   829 Vişnu XXX. 21; Manu IV. 121.
880 Manu IV, 121.
                     881 Uśanā III. 62; Gautama XVI; Vašistha XI; Manu IV. 109.
889 Visnu XXX. 20.
                                    858 Harit IV. 72
684 Manu IV. 109; Uśanā III. 66; Gautama XVI; Vašistha XI.
ass Vișnu XXX. 19; Manu IV. 121; Gautama XVI; Vasiștha XI.
884 Harit IV. 72.
                           887 Vasistha X1.
                                                      888 Vasistha XI.
689 Harit IV. 73.
                           840 Vasistha XI; Vişnu XXX. 10; Manu IV. 108.
842 Harit IV. 73.
                        849 Usana III. 79; Manu IV, 112,
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808 Yājāabālkya 1. 150; Vasistha XI.

up, <sup>848</sup> while seated by placing the soles of the feet on the seat, <sup>844</sup> while stretching his feet out, <sup>845</sup> while sitting on his haunches, <sup>846</sup> while sitting with a cloth girt round the legs and knees, <sup>847</sup> and while taking food rendered impure by birth or death. <sup>848</sup> As long as the scent and paste dedicated at the Ekoddhista śrāddha exist on the person of a learned brāhmaṇa, he should not study the Vedas. <sup>849</sup> The Vedas should not be studied after bleeding from any part of the body <sup>850</sup> and after a cut from a weapon. Thus we see that "the impurity of the place of Vedic study and personal uncleanness of the reader—these two are the permanent causes of non-study." <sup>851</sup>

On the Astaka day, when a high wind blows or in any other calamity, a twice-born one should study one Rk or one Yajus or one Sāma mantram. There is no prohibition in respect of reading the allied branches of Vedic study such as Prosody, Grammar, etc., or in respect of the homa mantras or in respect of that portion of the Veda which should be read each day (i. e., the sandhyā mantras) during the period in which the study of the Vedas is ordinarily prohibited. There is no prohibition as regards the study of the Vedāngas, of the Itihāses and the Purānas, or of the Dhumasīstras and other works; but a twice-born one should abstain from studying all these on the Parba days (i.e., on the full moon, the last day of the dark night, and the third day of the bright half of Vaiśākha). According to Vyāsa Saṃhitā sā on the interdicted days subjects collateral to the Vedas should be studied with the preceptor's permission. "For the six months when the sun is in the southern solstice, a wise man should not study the subsequent mysterious subjects and the Upaniṣads." the same should not study the subsequent mysterious subjects and the Upaniṣads."

§ 11. CLASSES OF TEACHERS.

There were three classes of teachers—the guru, the acharya and the upadhyaya. He is called guru who, having performed all the rites

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      848 Gautama XVI.
      844 Uśanā III. 69; Viṣṇu XXX. 18.

      845 Vaśiṣṭha XI.
      846 Manu IV. 112.
      847 Uśanā III. 69.

      848 Uśanā III. 69.
      840 Uśanā III. 68; Manu IV. 111.
      850 Manu IV. 122.

      850 Manu IV. 122.
      851 Manu IV. 127.
      852 Uśanā III. 77.

      856 Manu II. 105.
      854 Uśanā III. 98.
      855 I. 38.

      856 Kātyāyana Samhitā XXXVIII. 2.
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(beginning with garvadhanam) delivers instructions in the Vedas. 857 He is called acharya who teaches the Vedas after having performed only the ccremony of upanayanam. 858 According to Manu 859 and Vyasa 8 60 Samhitas "a brahmana who practises penitential austerities and performs the rite of homa every day and teaches the Vedas with their Kalpas (the branch of Vedic literature which deals with ceremonials and the celebration of religious sacrifices) and Rahasyas (the transcendental truths inculcated in the Upanisads) is called an āchārva." "He is called upadhyaya who teaches only a portion of the Vedas;"861 "one who teaches the Angas of the Vedas is also an upadhyaya."862 According to Visnu Samhita<sup>863</sup> "he who teaches an entire Veda in consideration of fees or a portion of the Veda without fees is called an upadhyaya." According to Samkhya Samhita 864 "one who gives lessons in the Vedas for money is an upadhyaya." Manu<sup>865</sup> says: "He who in consideration of fees, teaches a portion of the Veda and any of the Vedangas is said to be an upadhyaya."

# §12. TEACHING—THE MONOPOLY OF THE BRAHMIN?

In course of time teaching the Vedas came to be the exclusive duty of the brāhmaņa. In the Hārīt, 866 Atrī 867 and Manu Samhitās 868 where the duties of the four castes are enumerated we find that the brāhmaņas alone are entitled to give instructions in the Vedas. Manu 869 explicitly says: "The brāhmaṇas alone shall teach the Vedas and none else, this is the conclusion." In another place he says: "Teaching the Vedas, etc., shall never revert to the kṣhatriya as against the brāhmaṇa;"870" nor to the vaiśya as against the brāhmaṇa."871 "Rather should the kṣhatriya in distress live by following the low trades, but under no circumstances should he embrace the vocation of a brāhmaṇa."878 According to Manu 878 his law-code should be taught in its entirety

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857 Yājñabālkya I. 34.
                              888 Yajnabalkya I. 34; Vasistha III; Visnu XXIX. 1.
859 II. 140.
                                               861 Yājñabālkya I. 35; Vasistha III.
                              800 IV. 43.
*** Vasistha III.
                              368 XXIX. 2.
                                                             864 III. 1.
865 II. 141.
                              866 L 18.
                                                            867 L 13-15.
*** I. 88-91.
                              *** X. 1.
870 Manu X. 77.
                              871 Manu X. 78.
*** Manu X. 95. Compare Manu X. 96-97.
                                                            848 I. 103.
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by an erudite brahmana and not by a member of any other caste. In the Mahabharata<sup>874</sup> Visnu says to Yudhisthir "Begging, officiating as a priest and teaching are strictly forbidden in the case of a kṣhatriya." (Alberuni<sup>875</sup> says: "The brāhmanas teach the Yedas to the kṣhatriyas. The latter learn it, but are not allowed to teach it, not even to a brāhmana. The vaisya and the śūdra are not allowed to hear it, much less to pronounce and recite it." According to Atri Samhitā<sup>876</sup> giving instructions in the Vedas would outcaste the kṣhatriya and the vaisya.

But these rules forbidding non-brahmanas to teach and the injunction of Angiras Samhita877 that acquiring knowledge from a sūdra would degrade even one burning with Brahma energy indirectly prove that non-brahmana teachers were not altogether rare. This is corroborated by other evidences from Gautama and Manu Samhitas. "In times of distress a brahmana student may take lessons from a non-brahmana teacher and he shall serve his guru only so long as he shall actually study."878 "Wishing the most exalted existence (i. e., liberation of the self) after death, let not a brahmana student live for good in the house of his non-brāhmaņa preceptor". 879 "Women (wives), gems, knowledge, virtue, purity, good words (counsels) and the various kinds of arts may be acquired from anywhere."880 Again, teaching sciences other than the Vedas is mentioned by Manu as one of the ten means of livelihood in times of distress for men of all castes. 681 Gautama Samhita 882 says: "In times of distress a brahmana may learn an art and a science from a non-brahmana teacher and he should serve and follow the preceptor until the close of his study." Again, the injunction of Manu that "the king shall learn from the people the theory of the various trades and professions" seems to imply that in secular subjects like Vartta, others besides brahmanas may be called in to give instruction to the young princes and this seems probable also in the matter of military skill. Viśwamitra

<sup>874</sup> Santiparva, 60th adhyaya.

<sup>575</sup> Sachau's Eng. Trans., Vol. I., p. 125.

Sioka 49.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Manu II. 240

<sup>878</sup> Manu II. 241.

<sup>881</sup> Manu X. 116.

<sup>976</sup> II. 20.

<sup>870</sup> Manu II. 242.

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thus gave to Rama a training in the use of missils and weapons. 888 At is needless to point out that technical education was mostly imparted by non-brahmanas, so that the prohibition of teaching by non-brahmanas seems to be confined only to sacredotal knowledge.

# § 13. TUITION FEE.

All the time the pupil was under instruction the teacher was not to receive any fee. The Mahabharata884 condemns teaching for pay and even goes so far as to hold that "those who accept remuneration for teaching are designated as equal to a sudra."885 Manu<sup>886</sup> says: "Let not a virtuous Vedic student pay any (money) to his preceptor ere he returns from his house after finishing his career." Visnu<sup>887</sup> says: "He who having acquired knowledge sells it for a living in this world, shall derive no benefit from it in the next." Indeed to teach in consideration of fees was looked upon as an upapataka (minor sin).888 Receiving lessons on payment of a fee was similarly looked upon as an upapataka,889 According to Vyasa Samhita 890 mercenary teaching of the Velas rank equally with an act of brahminicide in respect of sin. According to Manu<sup>891</sup> and Usana<sup>892</sup> Samhitas both he who studies the Vedas by paying fees and he who gives instructions on receiving fees should be studiously avoided on the occasion of a śraddha ceremony. Usana898 calls them as vrttakas while Manu894 asks all good and crudite brahmanas to avoid these vile and condemnable persons. In Malavikagnimitra 895 we are told: "He whose learning is merely for a livelihood, is called a trader that traffics in knowledge." Indeed teaching for money was allowed as a means of livelihood only in times of extreme distress. 896 King Amar Sakti wanted to pay Viṣṇuśarma

ess Rāmāyaņa, Bālakānda, 27th and 28th sargas.

<sup>884</sup> Santiparva, 260th adhyaya.

<sup>885</sup> Anusasanaparva, 135th adhyaya.

<sup>886</sup> II. 245.

<sup>887</sup> XXX. 39. \*\*\* Viṣṇu XXXVII. 20 and 34; Yājñabālkya III. 236, 242.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Visnu XXXVII. 21, 34; Yajnabalkya III. 236, 242.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> IV. 70. 591 III. 156.

<sup>\*\*</sup> IV. 24. 898 M. R. Kale's Eng. Trans., p. 12. 804 III. 167.

<sup>• • •</sup> Yajňabalkya III. 42.

"śata-śasana" for teaching his ill-behaved sons, whereupon the spirited brahmana replied: "Naham śasana śatenapi vidya-vikrayam karisyami".

When, however, the course was completed the pupil performed certain bathing ceremonies and "after having bathed with the permission of his guru he was to pay him an honorarium according to his pecuniary circumstances."897 This honorarium was a mere symbol of the respect on the part of the pupil to his teacher. Vaiaseniya Samhitases says: "Dakshina śraddham dadati, śraddhaya apyati jñanam." "A plot of land, gold, a cow, a horse, an umbrella, a pair of shoes, paddy, vogetables, clothes or whatever he is capable of giving him, with that he shall evoke the pleasure of his preceptor."899 Thus we see that in return for the knowledge acquired from him, the student can give to his preceptor a few vegetables if his worldly circumstances do not admit of giving any other (more costly) thing. At the same time a gift, however precious or costly, was considered no adequate return for the benefit which a preceptor accords to his pupil. Laghu Harita says: "There is no such thing in this world, by giving which a pupil can discharge his debt to a teacher, who has taught him no more than a single letter of the alphabet." In the case of technical education, however, we have instances of fees being paid by the apprentices to teachers. Thus in the Jatakas 900 we find that two merchant-sons paid 2000 pieces each.

At Taxila, the students were usually admitted on payment in advance of the entire tuition fees. A fixed sum seems to have been specified for the purpose amounting to 1,000 pieces of money.<sup>901</sup> In lieu of paying the fees in cash, a student was allowed to pay them in the shape of services to his teacher.<sup>902</sup> To this class apparently belonged the majority of the students who attended on their teacher by day, and received instruction at night. We read of a school of five hundred brahmana pupils whose duties were among others, to gather fire-wood from the forests for their teacher.<sup>903</sup>

<sup>897</sup> Manu II, 245.

<sup>898 19, 30,</sup> 

<sup>899</sup> Manu II. 246.

<sup>900</sup> IV. 224, 225, 38, 39,

<sup>901</sup> Jātaka I, 272, 285; IV. 50, 224 etc.

<sup>\*92</sup> Compare-Milinda Panha VI. 71.

<sup>903</sup> Jataka I, 317-318,

Sometimes a student would prefer to devote his whole time to studies without sparing any time for such services or menial work, while at the same time he was too poor to be able to pay the teacher's fees in cash in advance. In such a case the student was trusted to pay the fees after the completion of his studies. We read of one such student, a brahmana boy of Benares, who, after completing his education at Taxila, paid his teacher's fees by begging for them in distant countries beyond the Ganges.

Where students were unable to pay the teacher's fee in any of the several ways aforesaid, a charitable community often came forward to provide for them a free education. We read of a teacher of world-wide fame at Benares' who had in his school five hundred young brāhman pupils. The difficulty of maintaining such a school was removed by the generosity of the Benares folk who used "to give day by day commons of food to the poor lads and had them taught free". The cost of education was also to some extent taken over from the teachers and the taught by the occasional invitations to dinner extended to them by philanthropic householders. We read of a school of five hundred students being invited to take meals by a country-family at at Taxila and of a similar entertainment given by an entire village. 904

There was again another class of students who paid the teacher's fees from the scholarships awarded to them by the states to which they belonged. Generally such students would be sent as companions of the princes of their respective countries who were deputed to Taxila for education. We read of the sons of the royal chaplains of the courts of Benares and Rajagaha accompanying their respective princes to Taxila. Cases, however, are not wanting of students being sent on their own account for higher studies to Taxila at the expense of the State. Thus we read of a Brahmin boy of Benares, being sent by the King at his expense to Taxila for the purpose of specialising in the science of archery.

<sup>904</sup> Jātaka I. 239; 1. 317; III. 171,

<sup>905</sup> Jätaka V. 263; III, 238 and V. 247; V. 127.

# § 14. QUALIFICATIONS REQUIRED OF THE TEACHER.

The teacher was generally called "guru" which means 'heavy' or 'great' and he was to be really great in learning and moral conduct. He was also called "acharva" which comes from the word "char" to behave and means 'one who trains up others in good behaviour' (Acharam grahayati iti acharyah); it is also taken by some to mean the source of all religion (dharmam achinoti iti acharyah). In either sense the teacher was expected to train up the pupils in good behaviour, the essence of religion, and naturally to possess those qualities himself. "This truth is not grasped when taught by an inferior man" says the Kathopanisad. 906 The Mundakopanisad 907 asks the teacher to be a śrotijya (i. e., one whose ancestors had been Vedic scholars for at last three generations) brahmanistha (dwelling entirely in the Brahman). descriptions are met with in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata of celebrated gurus like Vasistha, Viswamitra, Sandipani, Drona, Parasurama and Kanva and they are said to be vastly learned men of ideal character, quite contented with their lot, free from all worldly hankerings and respected even by kings who put their sons under them for instruction. Of course every teacher could not be like them but he was expected to possess these qualities.

The Pratisakhya<sup>908</sup> of the Revela gives us some idea of the intellectual qualifications of a teacher: 'he must himself have passed through the recognised curriculum and have fulfilled all the duties of the brahmacharin, before he is allowed to become a teacher'. Moreover, the success in debate<sup>909</sup> was also necessary to make one's name known to the public as being well-versed in learning. In the Upanisads we have a further list of the qualifications expected of a teacher. He was to come of a family of Velic trachers and be intent on the acquisition of the highest experience. He must work heart and soul and be like a parent unto his disciples. He must add the force of his example to the influence of precept. "As one acts, he becomes, good by good deeds, bad by evil; what action he performs, into that

<sup>906</sup> I. 2. 8.

<sup>907</sup> I. 2, 12,

<sup>908</sup> Ch. XV.

<sup>909</sup> Compare Rgveda X. 71.

does he become changed".910 He should conceal nothing from his pupil if he had stayed with him for a year. He should impress the essential points and impart true knowledge after making sure of the earnestness and the level of intelligence of the pupil, and satisfying himself as to his character. In one of the Upanisads we are introduced to the sage Pippalada who asks his questioners to spend a year with him in austerity, purity and single-minded devotion to knowledge. The teacher was to be remarkable for his humility. He should answer the questions put 'if he had the knowledge needed.' When five brahmanas came to Uddalaka Āruni to learn Vaiśwanara-vidya Āruni, diffident as to the fullness of his knowledge of the subject asked them to go to King Aśwapati Kaikoya. Thus there was no idea of palming off false knowledge as true, or posing as an authority on matters outside the direct range of one's own study and experience. It is a part of the valedictory address of the teacher to his disciple, that the latter should listen with respect and veneration to those who were greater than the former and that the teacher's example might be followed only in so far as his conduct was above reproach. 911

The individual skill in communicating one's knowledge to others was recognised to distinguish between teachers and teachers. In the Sabhaparba<sup>912</sup> of the Mahābhārata we are told that Devarṣi Nārada alone really knew the method of imparting instruction to pupils. In Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgñimitra we find that when a dispute arose about the superiority in knowledge between two teachers of the dramatic art, Gaṇadāsa and Haradatta, Paribrājikā suggested that the decision be arrived at by practical display of teaching. In this connection we find the following observations:—

"The acceptance of an unpromising pupil shows a want of discernment on the part of the teacher." 913

"The skill of a teacher when imparted to a worthy object attains greater excellence, as the water of a cloud when dropping into a sea-shell, acquires the state of (is converted into) a pearl." <sup>914</sup>

<sup>910</sup> Bihad Up., III. 88; IV. 1; VI. 3. 12; Chandegya Up., III. 1, 5; Svet. Up., VI. 22.

<sup>911</sup> Praśna Up., I. 1.; Taitt. Up., I. 11.

<sup>912 5</sup>th adhyaya.

<sup>918</sup> Mālavikāgāimitra, M. R. Kale's Eng. Trans., p. 11.

<sup>914</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

"If you do not permit me who am now desirous of showing in the present contest, my power of imparting instruction, then (I must say) I am given up by you." 15

"Then exhibit, both of you, your skill in instruction." 916

"Your Majesty will, therefore, kindly tell me in what subject-matter of dramatic representation I shall show my alility to impart instruction." 917

"Every person, though well-educated, has not the skill to impart instruction to others." 918

"One man is at his best when exhibiting his art in person; another has as his special qualification the power of communicating his skill; he who possesses both (these excellences) should be placed at the head of teachers." 919

Here we clearly see the recognition of the teacher's skill as an independent art.

That some of these equipments were thought necessary for a teacher would be evident from the fact that students after finishing their education in the house of the preceptor were under an obligation to teach and thus transmit learning from age to age. The Aitareya Āraṇyaka<sup>920</sup> says: "Naprabaktre," "Do not teach one who will not himself teach". In the Bower manuscript which is really a collection of two manuscripts we have a portion called Nabanītaka in which the instructions at the beginning say that 'it should not be taught to anyone who has no disciple." In the Taittiriya Upaniṣad<sup>922</sup> learning and teaching the Vedas are both enjoined on the pupil. In another passage of the same Upaniṣad<sup>923</sup> the student is asked, after finishing his education in his preceptor's house not to neglect the learning and the 'teaching' of the Veda.

<sup>918</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>917</sup> Ibid., p. 13. 918 Ibid.

<sup>916</sup> Ibid., p. 12. 919 Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>920</sup> IIL 2. 6.

<sup>\*\*1</sup> India and Centra Asia—Dr. Nirañjana Prosada Chakravarti, pp. 41-42.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> I. 9. \*\*\* 1. 11.

Many European Indologists have spoken of the fine genius of the ancient Indian teacher; of them Mr. F. W. Thomas says: "What was taught was well taught and the attainments of the Hindus were not inferior to those of any ancient nation, or to those of European scholars prior to the Renaissance". Moreover, it was in moral and religious qualifications that the Hindu teacher stood worthy of the name. His plain-living, high-thinking, disciplined routine, abstinence from pleasures, mental control and above all, his sincerity of purpose were the principal factors in the success of his work. Such qualities could never fail to command respect from any body; they were a living model for the pupils to follow and carried the lion's share in the ereditable educational results when there was no state-organisation for education. The Jesuits offer a fine comparison. Both were devoted, religious, learned and disciplined body of men. Both produced good results in their own spheres. Both imparted religious and secular knowledge and were respected wherever they went. The latter however kept no household and lived celibate lives, in which respects the Buddhist monk had much in common with them. These very conditions of life were the cause of those defects and artificialities which ultimately led to the decline of both the Jesuits and the Buddhist monks, when the individual fervour, sincerity and virtue were on the wane. On the other hand, the Hindu teacher kept his household, enjoyed his simple family-life and at the same time abstained from throwing himself headlong into intemperate worldly pleasures. He managed his own school except in the case of a large institution where many like him worked under a kulapati. Of the three the ancient Hindu institution appears to be the most natural and lasting, though the least dazzling.

## § 15. METHOD OF TEACHING.

The actual teaching was to proceed in the following manner. "A brahmacharin, having quitted his bed early in the morning and having bathed and performed the homa should accost self-controlled, his preceptor. Then having been commanded by his preceptor and having cast a look at his face, he should commence the study of the 'Vedas'." Before reading the Vedas he must put off his shoes."

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Sankhya Samhita III. 2-3.

The study commenced in the last watch of the night 926 after which the student was not to sleep again. 927 For the purpose of studying the Vedas, the student self-controlled, clad in a light garment, looking towards the north shall do the Zchamanam, and unite his palms in the manner of brahmānjali, after which lessons should be given to him. 928 At the commencement and at the close of his Vedic study, a student shall catch hold of the feet of his preceptor. 929 With his arms parallelly outstretched, he shall make obeisance unto his preceptor, by touching his (preceptor's) right foot with the right and his left foot with the left hand of his own.930 The preceptor then free from idleness, shall take hold of the small finger of the pupil's left hand and shall address him as "O you read now".931 Then the pupil should touch his eyes, cars and the regions of his life and intellect with a blade of kuśa grass and shall purify his body by three pranayamas consisting of fifteen matras (i. e., lasting for a time necessary to utter fifteen short vowels). 932 "After this he shall utter the Pranava," 933 for, "Pranava (i. e., Om or Omkara) not uttered at the commencement leads to the destruction of the reading".934 "Sitting on a cushion previously spread out, he should recite five or seven vyapritis preceded by the Pranava, each morning at the commencement of Vedic study. 988 He should make formally obeisance to his preceptor; and seated on his right, with his face turned towards the north or to the east, he should recite the Gayatri, 936 and the Pranava mantra (Om) after the recitation of the Gayatri. 987 Placing the two hands firmly on the two thighs, with the permission of the preceptor he should begin his course. He should not have his mind strayed away (to any other subject), 958

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** Manu IV. 99; Visnu XXX. 27.
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<sup>227</sup> Manu IV. 99; Visnu XXX. 27.

<sup>128</sup> Manu II. 70.

<sup>929</sup> Manu II. 71; Visnu XXX. 32.

<sup>950</sup> Manu II. 72.

<sup>981</sup> Manu II. 73; Gautama, Ch. I.

<sup>982</sup> Manu II. 75; Gautama, Ch. I.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Manu II. 75. \*\*\* Manu II. 74.

<sup>985</sup> Gautama, Ch. I. 987 Gautama, Ch. I.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Gautama, Ch. I; Sambarta Samhită, śl. 9.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Sambarta Samhitā, śl. 10.

the realisation of the meaning of a religious truth. Curiously enough these steps correspond wholly with those of Dewey. In his book "How we think" he gives the following steps:—

- (1) A problem and its location (adhyayana and śabda).
- (2) Suggested solutions and selection of a solution (uha and subrtprapti).
- (3) Action (application) [dana].

The following śloka gives steps similar to those of the Herbertians:—
"Suśrusā śrabaņañchaiba grahanam dhāranam tathā

Uhapoharta bijūānam tatvajāānamcha dhīguņah."

### -Kāmandaki.

Dhīguṇa includes the following qualities:—(1) śuśruṣā (desire to listen), (2) śrabaṇam (act or process of hearing) (3) grahaṇam (accepting, taking in), (4) dhāraṇam (digestion of what has been taken in) (5) uhāpoha (discussion) (6) arthavijālnam (grasping the correct sense) (7) tatwajālnam (knowledge of profound truth).

The western method of lecturing to advanced students was unknown to the teachers of Brahminic schools but free discussions with the teacher, questions and answers from either side, concrete illustrations and references to the practical details of daily life, allowing some discount for the dogmatic mysticism of the sacred texts—form a clear evidence of the rational method of education obtaining in those times. Indeed, the Upanisads often fall into the form of a dialogue, 44 which shows that the method of teaching was catechetical, like that of explaining a subject by an intelligent and graduated series of questions and answers which is associated with the great Greek teacher Socrates. In the Mahābhārata (specially in the Sānti and Anusāsana parbas) we find how the method of teaching through questions and answers was resorted

Diptabalaki—Gargya and Ajātasatru in Bihad. Up., II. 1; Yājūabālkya and Maitreyl in Bihad. Up., 2. 4; Yājūabālkya and and Janaka in Bihad. Up., 1-5; IV. 3; Janasruti and Raikava in Chāndogya Up., IV. 1-3; Uddālaka Āruņi and the five great householders in Chāndogya Up., 11-23; Svetaketu Āruņeya and his father in Chāndogya Up., VI; Nārada and Sanatkumāra in Chāndogya Up., VII; Vīgu Varuņi and his father in Taittirīya Up., III. 1-8; Nachiketas and his father in Katha. Up., II.

to by Visma, Sanatsujāta and Bidur. The (there is no lack of boldness in some of these teacher discoursed at length on the topics referred the Kena and Katha Upanisads). In these discoutilised all the familiar devices of oral teaching such actions, 948 stories 947 and parables. 948

It is not to be understood that these discourses leave no the pupil to think out for himself. Manu says:

"Āchāryāt pādamādatte pādam śiṣyāḥ swamedhayā Pādam sabrahmachāribhyaḥ pādam kālakrameṇa tu."

"The student learns only a fourth part from his teacher, a fourth' by self-study, a fourth from his fellows, and the last fourth by experience in after life" Indeed the need for introspection and contemplation, on the part of the student, is never overlooked. Manana or cogitation, as a means of convincing oneself of the truth of what he has learnt and thus fortifying himself against possible future doubts, is specially Even as regards the initial teaching it is usual for the preceptor to furnish only broad hints and ask the pupil to work them out fully. The most interesting instance of this method of teaching is found in the Tattiriya Upanisad (III) where Varuna while instructing his son Vrgu, contents himself with indicating only in general terms the features of the Absolute and leaves to his son the discovery by reflection of His exact content. This method of giving general hints and directions is repeated four times and it is only on the fifth occasion that Vrgu is able to comprehend the nature of the Absolute.

A spirit of enquiry and criticism was expected and encouraged. The aspirants for learning were asked to put questions ad libitum. The Tamil Nannul est of emphasises the need for discrimination and reflection in the student and appreciates spontaneity and originality:

'The swan, the cow, the earth, the parrot, the pot with holes, The browsing goat, the buffalo, the straining fibre; These, the first, the middle sort, and the last, of scholars shadow forth

<sup>\*45</sup> Compare Prasna, III. 2. 946 Prasna, II. 947 Katha.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Kena III. \*\* Yathā Kāmam prašňān pichhata in Prašnop

<sup>\*50</sup> Quoted by S. V. Venkateswars in his Indian Culture Through the Ages, V

labour bestowed; the parrot merely repeats; the it is the goat eats with the tips only; the buffal in the pond muddy and drinks it; the strainer lets al indirection was looked on with favour, hyper-criticist of countenance. Yaska lays down that a sastra should not a fault-finding or prejudiced person.

The method of teaching the Vedic hymns was purely oral. Th might have been due to the absence of a script in those early time but to our mind this oral teaching stands on some rational principle According to the orthodox Hindus the rsis knew the hymns k internal inspiration and the swaras (accents) were best learnt from tl teacher orally. Moreover, learning committed to memory was of tl greatest use at the sacrifice, school or assembly. In the Revelage the is an allusion to pupils reciting the syllables dictated by their teache who carefully saw that not a single accent (swara) was wrong pronounced. The Prātiśākhya<sup>952</sup> also contains a number of minu rules as to the repetition of words etc. According to Kautilya<sup>958</sup> "he (t prince) shall not only revise old lessons but also hear over and again wh has not been clearly understood". In this connection it is interesting find that the oral method of teaching has been advocated by some Weste educators of modern times. The eminent French educationists of t 17th century, Port Royalists, made it a point to bar books as far possible and laid great stress upon conversation as a means of developi mental faculties. Pestalozzi and Froebel wore even more emphatic this point so far as primary education was concerned. Locke rank "instruction" 'last' and 'least' in his 'accomplishments' of gentleme sons-virtue, wisdom, breeding and learning; and Rousseau wor have no use of books at all in any stage of education. Taking these vie exaggerated in some cases, with due discount, we see that oral methe f teaching are considered to be an effective means of training up 1 'erstanding of children.

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<sup>&</sup>quot;L 103, 5. \*\* Ch. 15. . \*\* Arthasastra (R. Syamasastri's Eng. Trans., p.

The study of any subject carried on with sufficient attention and necessary motive and in graded steps not only imparts proficiency in that line but also trains up the mental powers for general use and application in other branches as well. This psychological principle was also verified in this ancient system of education. Memorising was undoubtedly greatly insisted on and the secret of memory was repetition. Pupils who could repeat correctly after a single repetition by the teacher (Ekasandhagrahi) were rare, and the usual number of repetitions by the teacher was five 9 5 4 which enabled the pupil to repeat without any mistake. The success of a student was judged from his capacity to repeat the whole Veda thus learnt without any fault whatever. There were some who made mistakes, and they were nick-named after the number of mistakes they committed, ranging from one to fourteen.955 Max Muller 956 quotes Professor R. G. Bhandarkar with regard to the wonderful arrangements which the Hindus devised for the accurate preservation of the sacred text. These were far more complicated than anything the Massorites ever dreamed of. In the Samhitā arrangement the words were in their natural order and joined together according to the sanskrit rules of sandhi. In the Pada arrangement the words were separate, that is, not united by sandhi, and the compounds also dissolved. In the Krama arrangement the words were in the following order: 1, 2; 2, 3; 3, 4; 4, 5; etc., with sandhi between them. In the Jata arrangement the order was 1, 2, 2, 1, 1, 2; 2, 3, 3, 2, 2, 3; 8, 4, 4, 3, 3, 4; etc. In the Ghana, 1, 2, 2, 1, 1, 2, 3, 3, 2, 1, 1, 2, 3; 2, 3, 3, 2, 2, 3, 4, 4, 3, 2, 2, 3; etc. This must have greatly added to the burden upon the pupil's power of memorising and we must wonder how pupils could have got by heart such an enormous mass of materiala task which most English boys would find unbearable. But we should bear in mind that though the study started with repeating it was soon followed by explanation. Illustrations were freely used in giving pupils the necessary ideas as is seen in the Brahmanas and the Upanisads.

<sup>954</sup> Papini V. 1. 58.

<sup>985</sup> Pāņinī IV. 4, 63, 64.

Lectures on the Origin of Religion, (New Impression, 1901) pp. 169-70.

of the laborious process of learning by heart. In this connection it is interesting to note Fræbel's words:—" Children feel an intense craving for all kinds of storics and legends, because they have a desire to have some knowledge of the nature, cause and effect of their individual life by comparing it with some thing and some one else......... Comparison with somewhat remote objects is more effective than that with near objects".

The lecture method is not necessarily an ideal one. Really when a lecture is given to a class of say fifty students it is useless to some of them who may be insincerc. Its necessity is not felt by some others and a few of the rest probably cannot follow it. This method is again one-sided, because the lecturer alone is put to exertion. In the ancient Hindu schools the pupils would approach the teacher with questions to be solved and the answers were to be rightly appreciated. The system of teaching was individual and each pupil was separately instructed by the teacher, though there were occasions when the teacher explained something to all the pupils at the same time. The teacher was appealed to every now and then and he had sufficient opportunities to judge their capacities and to influence their activities. On the other hand, the tendency in modern schools, run on the lines of the class system, is to avoid the teacher, who then cannot so well understand and impress his pupils. In this sense the Dalton plan may not sound to be an invention to the student of Ancient Indian Education. The modern school does little for the bright children and it is admittedly on them that the future of the society depends. In the ancient Indian schools every child received individual attention, was encouraged and promoted from grade to grade in due consideration of his ability. There was no necessity to detain the clever one for the dull, or to yoke on the latter to the former. There was thus no waste of energy and no waste of time.

Again, the doctrine of Adhikārabāda shows that the ancient Hindu philosophers, like the educators of the present century used to take into consideration the capacity and fitness (adhikāra) of the pupil. The Bhāgabad Gītā<sup>968</sup> says:—

"Ārūrūkṣormmuneryogam karma kāranmuchyate Yogārūḍhasya tasyaiba śamah kāranamuchyate"

"To the sage who wishes to rise to devotion, action (without attachment) is said to be the means and to him, when he has risen to devotion, serenity is said to be the means". Indeed the modern principle of suiting matter and method to the nature and needs of the pupil was not unknown in Ancient India. Visnu Sarma, a brahmana teacher had the charge of the ignorant and vicious sons of Sudarsana, king of Pataliputra. The princes had an inordinate liking for the rearing of pigeons. When the teacher observed this and saw that they attended to nothing else, he told them that he would do nothing but fly pigeons. feed them and look after them in the pigeon-house. The princes were overjoyed to hear that. As the number of pigeons increased they had to name and count them. Visnu Sarma was clever enough to put peculiar red marks on the wings of the pigeons and called them ka, kha, ga, etc. The princes thus learned the letters of the alphabet and to join the letters into syllables and syllables into words. The foundation of a knowledge of Arithmetic was laid in counting the pigeons, in telling how many there were in two or three adjoining cots, how many remained in the cots after so many were on the wing. By this novel method was taught not only notation, numeration, addition and subtraction but also something of drawing, engineering and house-building which were required in planning and constructing the dove-cots. Not only this but Ethics and Politics were also taught in this fashion as the tales of Panchatantra and Hitopadesa testify to this day. In fact such manuals were written by teachers who had to educate some ill-behaved children of the rich in such an interesting disguise.

We have already seen that most of the branches of knowledge known to the Hindus were the offshoots of their great sacred project, sacrifice. The pupils were taught to work at it and it was a sufficient field for their native activities from brick-laying to drawing, from counting to reciting, from measuring to chiselling. The kṣhatriya and the vaiśya pupils had more practical projects before their eyes in the form of warlike feats and industrial arts respectively and their training was sufficiently concrete, though rather emperical in the beginning. When we add to this the many story-projects to be found in the Hitopadeśa and the Pańchatantra we can easily find that the 'project' method of teaching is not quite a modern invention.

We have one Jataka<sup>964</sup> which shows how Nature-study was insisted on as the best means of awakening a healthy curiosity, a spirit of observation and enquiry which are indispensable aids In the story, a world-renowned Professor to intellectual culture. of Benares "had five hundred young brahmanas to instruct", one of whom "had always foolish notions in his head and always said the wrong thing; he was engaged with the rest in learning the scriptures as a pupil, but because of his folly could not master them. The teacher was at pains to consider what method of instruction would be suitable for that 'veriest dullard' of all his pupils. And the thought came to him that the best way was to question him on his return from gathering firewood and leaves, as to something he had seen or done that day, and then to ask him what it was like. 'For' thought the master, 'this will lead him on to making comparisons and giving reasons and the continuous practice of comparing and reasoning on his part will enable me to impart learning to him."

Again, the monitorial system was an Indian invention. To manage a school with an evergrowing number of students sometimes ranging upto to 500°65 was no easy task for an individual teacher. He was therefore helped by a staff of Assistant Masters (pitthiāchāriya) appointed from amongst the most advanced or senior pupils. Assistance in teaching was also rendered by the senior pupils as such, for, we are told of a teacher appointing his eldest disciple to act as his substitute. Another teacher of Taxila, while going to Benares on some mission, appointed his chief pupil to take charge of his school during his absence, saying: "My son, I am going away from home; while I am away, you are to instruct these my pupils" (numbering 500). We read of Prince Sutasoma of the Kuru country who "being the senior pupil soon attained to proficiency in teaching" and "becoming the private teacher" of his comrade in the school, "soon educated him, while the others only gradually acquired their learning." The position of a senior

<sup>964</sup> Jātaka No. 123.

<sup>•••</sup> Jataka I. 239, 317, 402; III. 18, 235, 143, 171 etc.:

<sup>•••</sup> Jataka II. 100; V. 457; I. 141; IV. 51; V. 457-58.

pupil to a 'mahavaddhaki' is indicated by Buddhaghosa. 967 Samhitz 968 says: "On a preceptor's son, junior or equal to him in years, happening to be his tutor, he shall pay the same respect to him as to his own preceptor." Manu<sup>969</sup> speaks in the same strain: "A preceptor's son, if he be his younger or equal in age, or if he be a disciple of his in respect of the celebration of a religious sacrifice, he (the pupil) shall respect as his own preceptor, in the event of that (son) having taught These passages seem to imply that the son of the him the Vedas." sometimes helped the father by teaching in his stead. teacher This monitorial system has its own advantages: the responsibility thrown on a particular pupil trains him up for that (teaching) work and makes him bold and well-behavel; the leaders among the pupils are marked out, who may become the leading spirits in the society: the spirit of public service and self-sacrifice is cultivated; and the democratic discipline is inculcated as boys understand boys better than others. "The monitorial system of Bell and Lancaster, which Bell is said to have devised by seeing the method used in schools in India, is but a caricature of the Indian ideal. In English schools the prefectual system has associated the elder boys with the masters in the government and discipline of the school and it is generally recognised as being one of the most valuable parts of their training. According to the Indian ideal the more advanced scholars are associated with the master in the work of teaching and though the system may have been originally devised to help the master in solving the problem of teaching several pupils at different stages at the same time, it must have been a valuable training for the monitors themselves. In India the bullying of younger boys by older ones is almost unknown and the respect shown by the younger boys to the older boys is very marked. The resusciation of this ancient Indian ideal of monitors would therefore be worth a trial, and it is not unlikely that it might show very excellent results if the conditions were also fulfilled, that the class should be small and it was composed of pupils all at different stages of progress."970 ıŊ \_\_1 of

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Asl., 111, 112.

<sup>968</sup> XXVIII, 31,

<sup>000</sup> II. 200

<sup>•</sup> F. E. Keay-Ancient Indian Education, pp. 179-80.

Again, there is a marked difference between the Hindu and the European theories of sense perception. "They agree with regard to the mind receiving the knowledge of the external world through the senses. The divergence is to be noted regarding the way to stimulate the mental process. According to European educationists the pupils must be given a good deal of exercise in observation, i. e., in the use of their senses, because intelligence depends upon the cultivation of a keen sensory capacity. Hindu teachers, on the other hand, believed in the reverse order of dependence. According to them the cultivation of a keen sensory capacity depended on intelligence and the all-pervading nature of the human mind. They, therefore, tried to develop the pupil's mind in such a way as to use the the pre-conscious thought as early as possible and thus to take the line of greatest connection in preference to the line of least resistance followed by the Western thinkers. The Hindu pupils were taught to go to the root of the mind by means of prayers, melitation and righteous conduct and thus to stimulate and sharpen all its activities that are more or less correlated or co-ordinated. According to the Hindu theory, to confine one's study to matter directly bearing on the perticular subject, in which one is anxious to excel, is not always the best way to develop fresh brain-power. Some noted occidentals have acted on a similar principle. Sir Humphry Davy is said to have attended Coleridge's lectures on poetry to stimulate his imagination for his scientific work. Gladstone used to read the Bible before delivering his epoch-making speeches to throw into broad relief his political ideas in contrast with theology. There is, therefore, no fear of the development resulting from the study of texts like these extending merely a better comprehension of abstractions. The student will gain a wider grasp and a harder grip. The judgment in every phase of life will be improved. Though water poured into a tank may flow in at one spot, it finds its level and eventually fills up the tank evenly of , and smoothly. Similarly, the Hindu system improves not one special only art of the mind but the whole more or less together. The Hindu method vl nothing from outside to the mind but removed something

nothing from outside to the mind but removed something

ntal to powerful personality. This was similar to the hypnotic

set Jataka No. of a patient, during which the physician disentangles his

<sup>•••</sup> Jataka II. 100;

confused mental processes. The Hindu pupil was trained to reach the fountain of all inspiration (jnanadhikaranatma) in the pre-conscious state of his mind and not to hover about the sprays in the form of its external working. This pre-conscious state as the Hindus believed and has now been corroborated, is the source of all powers physical and spiritual and the sooner it is sought for, the better. The mind is like an iceberg: nine-tenths of it are below the conscious state. If the thoughts lying in the pro-conscious state are occasionally brought to the surface as they can be by the Hindu system of mind-training, a connecting link between the every day commodity and its greatest store-house is established. He who is in closest touch with the pre-conscious state solves difficult questious speedily, for, all solutions which are called inspirations really come from within and the pre-conscious in constant touch with the conscious mind makes the most successful combination useful for all purposes. Hence the Hindu teacher tried to nourish the child-mind from within by religious exercises and moral tales and to prepare it for work in worldly life".971

Study and teaching, however, can only lead to a mediate knowledge. For an immediate knowledge of the intimate Truth and Reality, the pupil must depend upon himself. The knowledge of the Atman cannot gained by mere speculation concerning it. but revelation as the result of the proper degree of self-growth. acquisition of such knowledge, which means emancipation, is not a matter of study but of life. It presupposes two things: (1) annihilation of all desires and (ii) annihilation of "the illusion of a manifold universe. of the consciousness of plurality". The means evolved to secure these two ends are what are popularly known as the system of (i) Sannyasa and (ii) Yoga. The former means the 'casting off' from oneself of his home, possessions and family and all that stimulates desire. It thus "seeks laboriously to realise that freedom from all the ties of earth in which a deep conception of life in other ages and countries also has recognised the supreme task of carthly existence, and will probably continue to recognise throughout all future time".972 The system of

<sup>971</sup> S. M. Mitra-Hindu Mind-Training, pp 15-21.

Philosophy of the Upanisads.

Sannyasa as a means of attaining the knowledge of the Brahman and emancipation is completely developed in a series of later Upanisads such as the Brahma, Sannyasa, Āruņeya, Paramahamsa, etc., with which we are not concerned here for the present.

Yoga teaches the withdrawing of the organs of sense from their objects and concentrating them on the inner self, endeavours to make one's self free from the world of plurality and to secure union with the Atman.

In Post-Vedic times the practice of Yoga was developed into a formal system with its own text-book, the sūtras of Patañjali. Its first beginnings are, however, shown in Katha (III & VI) Švetašvatara (II) and Maitrāyaṇa (VI). The system implies the following eight members (angas) of external practices: (1) yama or discipline consisting in abstinence from doing injury, honesty, chastity, poverty (2) niyama or self-restraint (purity, contentment, asceticism, study and devotion) (3) āsanam, sitting (in the right place and in the correct bodily attitude) (4) praṇāyāma, regulation of the breath (5) pratyāhāra, withdrawal of the senses from their objects (6) dhāraṇā, concentration of the attention (7) dhyānam, meditation and (8) samādhi, absorption.

As has been already indicated, both the systems are a perfectly intelligible consequence of the doctrine of the Upanisads according to which the highest end is contained in the knowledge of self-identity with the Atman. As a means to the attainment of that end, we must purposely "dissolve the ties that bind to the illusory world of phenomena" (implied by Sannyāsa) and practice self-concentration (Yoga). Thus arose two remarkable and characteristic institutions of Indian culture through which emancipation was sought to be attained and expedited by processes and disciplines invented by the spiritual genius of the people. The first seeks by calculated methods to annihilate desires and the second the consciousness of plurality.

## § 16. WAS THERE ANY EXAMINATION?

As there was no class system, no annual examinations were required for the formation of fresh classes. The pupils received individual

instruction and the teacher could see in fresh lessons whether they followed him or not. This was thought quite sufficient. "It is no use putting to test what has not quite settled in the mind" says Kālidās. Much depended, therefore, on the judgment of the teacher: if he found that a particular boy was quite well up, he was encouraged and led onwards. On the completion of the higher course some regular examination was necessary and this was arranged by presenting the pupils before an assembly of the learned or at royal sacrifices. In a hymn of the Rg-veda<sup>978</sup> there is a reference to such an assembly of the learned meeting together for debate:—

"All friends are joyful in the friend who cometh in triumph having conquered in assembly.

He is their blame-averter, food-provider; prepared is he and fit for deed of vigour.

One plies his constant task reciting verses; one sings the holy psalm in Sakvari measures.

One more, the brāhmaņa, tells the lore of being, and one lays down the rules of sacrificing."

We have references to Brahmavadin, with the variants Brahmavadya and Brahmodya. The title of Vipra or Kabi was the reward of a scholar who had beaten the others. Such debates and disputations are mentioned in the Atharvaveda, where the opener, (Prasa) and the opponent (Pratiprasa) are contrasted. The questioner, the cross-questioner and the judge at a disputation are mentioned in the Brahmana literature. The success in a such a debate refers to the passing of some test required before a young brahmana was considered eligible to take part in a sacrificial ritual or be a teacher himself. The succession of the passing of some test required before a young brahmana was considered eligible to take part in a sacrificial ritual or be a teacher himself.

<sup>978</sup> X. 71.

Atharvaveda XI. 3; XV. 1; Taitt. Sam., II. 5, 9, 1; Atharvaveda II. 27. 1 and 7. Satapatha Brāhmaņa XI. 4. 1, 1, Kaušitaki Brāhmaņa XXVI. 5; Br. Up., III. 3, 1; III. 6, 4; Taitt. Br., III. 4.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Compare the "Responsio" of the Middle Ages in Europe.

examinations were mostly oral. They tested memory-work an intelligence ordinarily; but in the higher stages where as specialisation full scope was given to originality. This is ev. A from the descriptions preserved in the Brahmanas and the Upanisads, of animated debates held at royal sacrifices.

In course of time when the sciences arose, examinations of a more practical nature were held. The famous physician Jivaka<sup>976</sup> received his medical education in Taxila for seven years after which he had to undergo an examination in which he was asked to describe the medicinal use of all the vegetables, plants, creepers, grass, roots, etc., that could be found within a radius of fifteen miles round the city of Taxila. Jivaka examined them for four days and then "submitted the results informing his professor that there was hardly a single plant which did not possess some medicinal property."

## § 17. TEACHER'S DUTIES TO THE STUDENT.

The relation between the teacher and the taught was of the happiest kind. In the Savits verse to be recited at the beginning and end of each day's study, the teacher and his pupil both prayed: "May He protect us two; may we both enjoy happiness; may we both perform heroic deeds." Thus the teacher and his pupil were united by a common aim of preserving and propagating the sacred learning and to show its worth in their life and conduct. The pupil looked up to his preceptor as his father.977 The teacher was also under an obligation to fulfil his duty towards the pupil. "He is to teach him the truth exactly as he knows it."978 "He should not conceal anything from him, for, such concealment would spell ruin to him."979 The Taittiriva Aranyaka980 lays down that the teacher must teach with all his heart and soul. He was bound also according to the Satapatha Brahmana 981 to reveal everything to his pupil who at any rate lived with him for one whole year (samvatsaravāsin). According to Apastamva 982

<sup>976</sup> Mahavagga (Vinyapitaka, edited by Oldenburg) VIII. S.

<sup>977</sup> Prasna Up., V. 8.

<sup>978</sup> Mundakopanişad I. 2. 23.

eqe Prasha Up., VI. 1.

<sup>980</sup> VII. 4.

<sup>\*\*</sup> XIV. 1. 1. 26, 27,

<sup>288</sup> I 2

"not only was the teacher to love the pupil as his own son but also to give him full attention in the teaching of the sacred science and withhold no part of it from him." The teacher, however, was quite free to impart to his pupil only the knowledge that he was fit for and reserve subjects to which he was not equal. There are on record certain cases of learning kept secret and revealed only to special persons. 988

Manu<sup>984</sup> says: "Having initiated a pupil, let the preceptor teach him the rules of purification and good conduct as well as the mode of doing burnt offerings and sandhyas." "To a brahmana duly initiated with the thread, shall be given instructions, regarding the practice of vows gradually and in conformity with the regulation; he shall be made to get by heart the (different portions of the Vedas)."985 "But if the teacher neglects to teach (the Veda) the pupil should forsake him."986 Kautilya987 says: "When between.....teacher and student, one abandons the other while neither of them apostate.....the first amercement shall be levied." Again, "the teacher was not to use the pupil for his own purposes except in times of distress."988

## §18. DISCIPLINE.

In Manu Samhita 989 we find a passage which according to Kulluka's interpretation defines the behaviour of the teacher to his pupil. The literal English translation of the passage runs thus:-

"The good of creatures should be effected with kind sympathetic means; desiring virtue, one shall use sweet and gentle words under the circumstances."

"He whose speech and mind are always pure and fully restrained derives all the benefits enumerated in the Vedanta."

988 Manu II, 173.

989 II. 159-61.

ses For instance, the Vasisthas and Stombhagas in Panchavines Brahmana XV. 5. 24; Taittiriya Āraņyaka III. 5. 2. 1; Katha Sam., XXXVI. 17; Pravahana Jaivāli and his knowledge of Brahman in Brhad. Up., VI. 1. 11.

<sup>984</sup> II, 69. 986 Vasistha Samhitā, Ch. XI.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Arthaśāstra (R. Syāmaśāstr<sup>P</sup>s Eng. Trans.,) p. 251. pss Apastamya I. 2.

"Persecuted or oppressed, one must not hurt the feelings of others. Let him wish or do no injury to anybody. Let him not use a harsh word that bars the gate of heaven, to any body."

According to Yājñabālkya Samhitā, 991 however, "one can reprove a son or disciple at the time of teaching." Gautama 992 says: "A preceptor should admonish his pupil without beating him or inflicting any kind of corporal punishment on him. In case of emergency he may be chastised with a cut piece of rope or with a bamboo-twig without leaves. A king shall punish a preceptor for chastising his pupil in any other way." Manu is in favour of punishment but of a mild type; says he: "Let him not raise a club to anybody nor strike anybody with a club, except his son and disciple for the sake of discipline."993 "A wife, son, servant, brother or disciple found guilty of an offence should be punished with a chord or with a (foliated) bamboo-stick. They shall be beaten on the lower parts of the body and never on the upper limbs. For having flogged them in any other fashion one shall be liable to punishment for theft."994 Apastamva998 seems to be more harsh and lays down a list of punishments that could be used by the teacher at his discretion-frightening, fasting, bathing in cold water, striking with a cane and banishment from school (literally, from the teacher's presence.) The offences of royal pupils also did

<sup>•••</sup> Sukranītisāra, Ch. I. line 589.

<sup>991</sup> L 155.

<sup>992</sup> Ch. II. 993 Manu IV. 164.

Manu VIII. 299-300. Compare in this connection the passage given to a Theban school-boy for exercise in calligraphy in the second millenium B. C.: 'Pass not a day in idleness or thou wilt be beaten........The ear of a boy is in his back; he listens when he is beaten '—Blackman; Luxor and Its Temples, p. 176.

not escape their usual punishment even in those early days represented by the Jatakas. On the offence of a prince being reported to the teacher (the offence being taking some sweets from a vendor's basket without paying for them), "he caused two lads to take the young fellow by his two hands and smote him thrice upon the back with a bamboostick bidding him take care not to do so again." Still the general feeling was towards mildness as may be gathered from Kautilya's dictum, which has passed into a proverb, that the period of discipline for a boy terminates at the age of sixteen and that he should henceforth be treated as a friend.

Rupture of this relationship was the result of failings on the part of the teacher or offensive conduct on the part of the pupil. There were cases of pupils who did not take seriously to study but were with the teacher only for securing some worldly advantage. There were Tirthakakas who frequently changed their teachers: Odanapaniniyas. who studied Panini only to earn a livelihood; Ghrtarandhryas and Kambalachārāyaniyas, anxious only to secure ghee or some comfortable covering blankets by taking to the life of studentship. There were also students who did not keep the whole term, but entered life before their studies were over (Khatvārūdha). But these were apparently exceptional cases, 997 laughed at by the literary world of the time. There were also cases of rebellious students whom the Jaina Sütras compare to "bad bullocks." The great Yaifiabalkva of Mithila disagreed with his teacher of the Yajurveda Vaisampayana by name, and repaired in disgust to the Himalayas and compiled a new system. known as Sukla Yajurveda. Another dissentient pupil was Apastamva, whose differences with his teacher Baudhayana are narrated in the Puranas.

The student was also allowed to desert his teacher under certain contingencies. 999 One of these was incompetence or lack of knowledge

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Jātaka No. 252 (Tilmukhi Jātaka).

<sup>997</sup> Papini I. 4, 26, 28; II. 1, 41; II. 1, 26.

<sup>&</sup>quot;" Jacobi: Jaina Sütras, pp. 149 and 152.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Apastamva I. 5, 26, ; I. 4, 25.

on the part of the teacher. Another was the transgression of the law by him. A teacher could be deserted also if he used his pupil's time to the detriment of his studies. Other legitimate reasons for giving up one teacher and taking to another was the teacher's neglect of his study and rituals, his negligence in imparting instruction, and commission by him of cardinal sins. But these contingencies were the exceptions which prove the general rule that the pupil was well cared for by his teacher from whom he parted on the most cordial terms.

The foregoing account shows us an interesting and pleasing picture of the life of the pupil and the teacher in India dating back to many centuries before Christ. The pupil was under a somewhat rigorous discipline but there was nothing harsh or brutal about it and a high ideal of moral life and character was held before the pupil and the teacher. The latter usually had no mercenary motive to impel him to teach but was to perform his work solely as a duty which he owed towards others and his pupil in particular. Parental love on the one hand and deep respect on the other made a sweet combination of feelings that had

## "Less of earth in them than heaven."

It is laid down in Kautilya's Arthaśāstra 1000 that if a teacher and a student sue each other (paraṣparāviyoga) they shall be punished with the highest amercement." The pupil's relation to the teacher has indeed been sometimes so developed that it had led to the teacher or guru, receiving divine honours from his pupil or disciple, in some forms of Hinduism and in some sects that have sprung from it. In a more sober conception of this relationship it is thought of as that of father and son 1001 and so far was this idea carried out that the pupil was considered to be in a closer relation to the teacher than to his own father. It is no wonder, therefore, that the parting scenes (for example, between Kṛṣṇa and Sandipani) are full of overwhelming sentiments. The whole family felt as if some intimate relation was leaving them

<sup>1000</sup> R. Syāmaśāstri's Eng. Trans., p. 224.

<sup>1001</sup> In the Rāmāyaņa (Kişkindhyākāṇḍa, 18th sarga) we are told that a younger brother, a son and a meritorious pupil are all sons.

and the student felt as if he was going away from his real home to that of his worldly father. It is no wonder, therefore, that the teacher felt very happy when he heard that his pupils were doing quite well. particularly when one of them became more learned and famous than he himself. Rev. F. E. Keav 1002 rightly observes: "In the West, it is the institution rather than the teacher which is emphasised and it is the school or college which a student regards as his alma mater. In India it is the teacher rather than the institution that is prominent and the same affection and reverence which a Western student has for his alma mater are in India bestowed with a life-long devotion to the teacher. Even the introduction of Western education with its many teachers and many classes, has not entirely broken down this ideal, inspite of the complications which it produces. To an Indian student a teacher who only appears at stated hours to teach or lecture and is not accessible at all times to answer questions and give advice on all manner of subjects is an anomaly. Such a relationship, no doubt, throws a greatly increased responsibility upon the teacher and where the teacher is not worthy of his position may be attended with grave dangers. But where the teacher is a man who reaches a high intellectual, moral and spiritual standard, there is much to be said for the Indian ideal. There is no country in the world where the responsibilities and opportunities of the teacher are greater than they are in India."

# § 19. THE COMPLETION OF STUDENTSHIP AND THE PARTING SPEECH OF THE TEACHER.

The completion of formal studentship was signalised by a great ceremonial bath at Samabartana, which put an end to the vows the pupil had taken as a brahmacharin. He sacrificed in the water his sacred girdle, staff and sacred thread, which he had been using all these years. He parted with the teacher after making him a suitable present. Lest his specialised knowledge and erudition shall fill him with spiritual pride, we have this provision in Apastamva<sup>1008</sup>: "The knowledge which sudras and women possess is the completion of all study.

1008 Apastamya II. 11, 29,

<sup>2002</sup> Ancient Indian Education, pp. 178-79.

They declare it a supplement to the Atharvaveda". The Taittiriya Upaniṣad¹oo⁴ has preserved for us a specimen of the parting words which a teacher generally addressed to his student when the latter was permitted to return home after the completion of his studies:—

"Say what is true! Do thy duty! Do not neglect the study of the Veda! After presenting gifts to thy teacher, take care that the thread of thy race be not broken! Do not swerve from truth, from duty! Do not neglect your health! Do not neglect your worldly prosperity! Do not neglect the learning and the teaching of the Veda!

"Do not neglect the (sacrificial) works due to the gods and the manes! Let thy mother be to thee like unto a god! Let thy father be to thee like unto a god! Let the guests be to thee like unto a god! Whatever actions are blameless, those should be regarded, not others. Whatever good works have been performed by us those should be observed by thee—

"Not others. There are some Brahmins better than we. To those you should show proper reverence. Whatever is given should be given with faith, with joy, with modesty, with fear and from a sense of duty. If there be any doubt in the mind with regard to any sacred act or with regard to conduct—

"In that case conduct thyself as brahmanas who possess good judgment conduct themselves therein, whether they be appointed or not, as long as they are not too severe, but devoted to duty. And with regard to things that are doubtful, as brahmanas who possess good judgment conduct themselves therein, whether they are appointed or not, as long as they are not too severe, but devoted to duty.

"Thus conduct thyself. This is my admonition. This is the teaching. This is the true purport (upanisad) of the Veda—this is the command. Thus should this be observed".

"These words read almost like the Chancellor's Convocation Address to the students of a modern University passing out of its portals on their admission to their degrees. It will be noticed that in this ancient

valedictory address, emphasis is laid upon several interesting points. In the first place, entering upon the householder's life and fatherhood are enjoined as a compulsory religious duty in the interests of the continuity of the race. In the second place, is enjoined the duty of studying and teaching the Veda in the interests of the continuity of culture. In the third place, the duties of domestic and social life are indicated. They are: to honour father, mother, teacher and guest as gods; to honour superiors; to give in proper manner and spirit, in joy and humility, in fear and compassion, so that it may bless both "him that gives and him that takes"; to perform sacrifices and in all doubtful cases, to order himself according to the judgment of approved authorities. Lastly, the pupil is also admonished not to neglect health and possessions. We may in passing note the spirit of humility, characterising the teacher, as shown in asking his pupil to imitate his good points and ignore his bad ones and recognising his superiors". 1005

<sup>1005</sup> Sir Aśutosa Mukerji Silver Jubileo Volumes, Vol. III. Part. I. Orientalia, pp. 230-31.

#### CHAPTER VII.

# SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE BUDDHIST SEATS OF LEARNING.

#### I. THE BUDDHIST MONASTERIES AS SEATS OF LEARNING.

The character of Buddhist education of which the monastery was the centre will be evident from the fact that Buddhism included in it the non-recognition of the Vedas and of the brāhmaṇa hierarchy as well as of the religious aspect of the caste system. Buddha carried no crusade against any of these but the opposition was implicit in his system. Hence the Buddhist education was not based on Vedic study and its teachers were not brāhmaṇas, except those who had become converted to Buddhism.

## § 1. THE SELECTION AND ADMISSION OF STUDENTS.

The Buddhist monastery was open to all comers and not merely to the three twice-born castes. There was, however, exception to the general principle and the following classes of persons were excluded from admission into the monastery: (1) one affected with the five diseases viz., leprosy, boils, dry leprosy, consumption, and fits; 1006 (2) one who is in the royal service; 1007 (3) a proclaimed robber; 1008 or one who has broken out of jail; 1009 or wears the emblems of his deeds; 1010 (4) one who has been punished by scourging; 1011 or branding; 1012 (5) a debtor; 1018 (6) a slave; 1014 (7) one under fifteen years of age; 1015 (8) a eunuch; 1018 and (9) one deformed in person or any of whose limbs was cut off. 1017

The ceremony of admission is thus described in the Vinaya Pitaka: 1018 "Let him who desires to receive ordination first cut off

1006 Mahavagga I. 39.	1007 Ibid., I. 40.	1008 Ibid., I. 43.
1099 Ibid., I. 42.	1010 Ibid., I. 41.	1011 Ibid., I. 44.
1018 Ibid., I. 45.	1018 Ibid., I. 46.	1014 Ibid., I. 47.
1018 Ibid., L 50.	1016 Ibid., I. 61.	1017 Ibid., I. 71.
1018 Ibid., I, 38,		•

his hair and beard; let him put on yellow robes, adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, salute the feet of the phiksus with his head; and sit down squatting; then let him raise his joined hands and tell him to say 'I take my refuge in the Buddha. I take my refuge in the Dharma, I take my refuge in the Samgha.' " This act of admission was called pabbajia. A new form was substituted at a later date for the upasampada ordination. The upajjhaya from whom the new ordination played the most convert—saddhiviharika—received the important part in the system. He must be a learned competent bhiksu who has completed ten years since his upasampada. 1019 The procedure of choosing an upajjhaya is laid down as follows:-"Let him (who is going to choose an upajjhaya) adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, salute the feet (of the intended upajjhaya), sit down squatting, raise his joined hands and say (thrice): "Venerable Sir, be my upajjhāya." (If the other answers) "well" or "certainly" or "good" or "all right" or "carry on (your work) with friendliness (towards me)" or should he express this by gesture (lit., by his body), or by word, or by gesture and word, then the upajihaya has been chosen." The upajjhaya alone 1020 could confer on his saddhiviharika the upasampada ordination but the latter must be possessed of a certain standard of education and moral practices. 1021 Several formalities were also required. Thus it was necessary that the candidate should formally ask for being ordained and provide himself with alms and robes. Then it must be ascertained by formal questioning in an assembly of bhiksus whether he labours under any of the disqualifications mentioned above and whether his parents have given their consent to his adopting the life. The candidate was instructed beforehand by a learned competent bhiksu as to the manner in which to reply to those formal questions. 1022 After the instruction was over, the instructor came

<sup>1419</sup> Sütra-nipāta, Nābāsūtra, verses 316-22.

<sup>1920</sup> A particular individual not the samples or a part of it could serve as an upajjhāya. Several classes of persons could not serve as an upajjhāya. These are described in detail in Mahāvagga I, 68.

<sup>1021</sup> The details are laid down in Mahavagga I. 36. 2ff.

<sup>1022</sup> For details compare Mahavagga I. 76.

to an assembly of the bhiksus, not less than ten in number 1023 and asked its formal permission for the candidate to appear, in the following terms:

"Let the Sampha, reverend sirs, hear me. N. N. desires to receive the upasampada ordination from venerable N. N.; he has been instructed by me. If the Sampha is ready, let N. N. come." On the permission being granted, the candidate appeared before the assembly, adjusted his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, saluted the feet of the bhiksus with his head, sat down squatting, raised his joined hands and thrice uttered the formula: 'I ask the Sampha, reverend sirs, for the upasampada ordination: might the Sampha, reverend sirs, draw me out (of the sinful world) out of compassion towards me."

Then a learned competent bhiksu moved the following resolution (natti): "Let the Samgha, reverend sirs, hear me. This person N. N. desires to receive the upasampada ordination from the venerable N. N. If the Samgha is ready, let me ask N. N. about the disqualifications." Permission being granted he addressed the candidate as follows:

"Do you hear, N. N. This is the time for you to speak the truth and to say that which is. When I ask you before the assembly about that which is, you ought, if it is so, to answer 'It is'; if it is not so, you ought to answer 'It is not.'

Then followed the string of questions: "Are you afflicted with the following diseases? leprosy, boils, dry leprosy, consumption, fits? Are you a man? Are you a male? Are you a freeman? Have you no debts? Are you not in the royal service? Have your father and mother given their consent? Are you full twenty years old? Are your alms-bowl and your robes in due state? What is your name? What is your upajjhaya's name?."

After satisfactory answers were received, a learned competent bhiksu proclaimed the following natti before the Samgha: "Let the Samgha reverend sirs, hear me. This person N. N. desires to receive the

<sup>1028</sup> In border countries the assembly could be composed of four bhiksus and a chairman (Mahāvagga V. 13, 11).

upasampadz ordination from the venerable N. N.; he is free from the disqualifications; his alms-bowl and robes are in due state. N. N. asks the Samgha for the upasampadz ordination with N. N. as upajjhāya. If the Samgha is ready, let the Samgha confer on N. N. the upasampadz ordination with N. N. as upajjhāya."

"Let the Samgha, reverend sirs, hear me. This person N. N. desires to receive the upasampada ordination with the venerable N. N. The Samgha confers on N. N. the upasampada ordination with N. N. as upajjhāya. Let any one of the venerable brethren who is in favour of the upasampada ordination of N. N. with N. N. as upajjhāya, be silent and any one who is not in favour of it, speak."

"And for the second time I thus speak to you: Let the Samgha etc., (as before).

"And for the third time I thus speak to you: Let the Samgha etc., (as before).

"N. N. has received the upasampadā ordination from the Samgha with N. N. as upajjhāya. The Samgha is in favour of it, therefore, it is silent. Thus I understand."

Two classes of persons had to pass through an intermediate stage of discipline before being formally admitted. These were persons who (1) formerly belonged to a heretic (Titthiya) school or (2) were between 15 and 20 years of age.

A probation (parivāsa)<sup>1024</sup> of four months was imposed upon the former by a formal act of the Order on his making the threefold declaration of taking refuge. If he failed to satisfy the bhiksus by his character and conduct<sup>1025</sup> during the period, the upasampadā ordination was refused him.

A person between 15 and 20 years of age could receive only the pabbajja ordination and had to wait till his twentieth year for the

1025 The details are given in Mahāvagga 1. 38. 5-7).

Exception was made in favour of the fire-worshippers, the Jatilas and heretics of Sakya birth. They received the upasampadā ordination directly and no parivāsa was imposed upon them (Mahāvagga I. 38. 11).

upasampada. The novice (śramanera) as he was called during this intermediate period had to live a life of strict discipline under an upajjhāya.1026 He had to keep the ten precepts, 1027 viz., abstinence from (1) destroying life, (2) stealing, (3) impurity, (4) lieing, (5) intoxicating liquor, (6) eating at forbidden times, (7) dancing, singing, etc., (8) garlands and scents, (9) use of high beds, and (10) accepting gold or silver. He was expelled from the fraternity if he violated any of the first five precepts or if he spoke against the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Samgha or if he held false doctrines or had sexual intercourse with bhiksunis. 1028 In five other cases he was liable to be punished. 1029 The punishment could be inflicted by any bhiksu, with the consent of the upajjhāya. 1030 I-Tsing observes: "In the case of a śramanera a transgression of the twelve particulars set forth in the Vinaya texts does not involve guilt: for a siksamānā (fem.) however, there are some modifications of the rule. Now what are the twelve particulars? (1) One must distinguish between legal and illegal robes (Nissaggiya 1-10), (2) one must not sleep without garments, (3) one must not touch fire (probably Pākittiyā 56), (4) one must not eat too much food (Pākittiyā 35, 36 and 34), (5) one must not injure any living things (Pakittiya 61), (6) one must not throw filth upon the green grass (Pākittiyā and 20), (7) one must not recklessly climb up a high tree (unless in emergency), (8) one must not touch jewels (Pakittiya 84; Nissaggiya 18 and 19), (9) one must not eat food left from a meal (Pakittiya 38), (10) one must not dig the ground (Pakittiya 9), (11) one must not refuse offered food, (12) one must not injure growing sprouts. The two lower classes of members (i. e., sramaneras and sramaneris need not conform to the twelve, but the siksamanas (fem.) incur guilt if they fail to keep the last five particulars (8-12 above). These three lower members also have to observe the summer-retreat (Varsha)."1081

<sup>1016</sup> Sütranipāta, Tubataka sütra, verses 922-932.

<sup>1097</sup> Mahavagga I. 36.

<sup>1025</sup> Mahavagga I. 60.

<sup>1009</sup> Mahavagga I. 57.

<sup>1080</sup> Mahavagga I, 58.

<sup>2092</sup> Takakusu's Eng. Trans., p. 97.

The Vinaya-samgraha<sup>1082</sup> Chapter XII (Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1127) gives the six rules and the six minor rules for the female members:—The six important rules are:—(1) A female must not travel alone; (2) she must not cross a river alone, (3) she must not touch the body of a man, (4) she must not have the same lodging with a man, (5) she must not act as a match-maker, (6) she must not conceal a grave offence committed by a nun. The six minor rules are:—(1) A female must not take gold or silver which does not belong to her, (2) she must not shave the hair in any place but the head, (3) she must not dig up an uncultivated ground, (4) she must not wilfully cut growing grass or a tree, (5) she must not eat food which is not offered, (6) she must not eat food which has once been touched.

As soon as the ceremony of ordination was over "some such thing as a girdle or a filter should be brought and offered to the teachers who are present in the place of the ordination (and take part in it), in order to show sincere gratitude." Then a prospect of the life he was going to lead was held out before the new bhiksu. The four Resources of the brotherhood were proclaimed to him, so that he might be prepared beforehand for the worries and troubles of the life to come. "I prescribe, O bhiksus" said Buddha, 1034 "that he who confers the upasampadā ordination (on a bhiksu) tell him; the four Resources:—

- (1) "The religious life has morsels of food given in alms for its resource....."
- (2) "The religious life has the robe made of rags taken from a dust-heap for its resource....."
- (3) "The religious life has dwelling at the foot of a tree for its resource....."

<sup>1088</sup> Quoted in Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 97, foot-note 3.

<sup>1088</sup> Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 103.

<sup>1034</sup> Mahāvagga II. 77.

(4) "The religious life has decomposing urine as medicine for its resource....."

"Thus must the new bhiksu endeavour to live all his life; better food, robes etc., which it might be his lot to enjoy from time to time, being only looked upon as extra allowances (atirekalabho)"

An idea of the stern moral life he was expected to lead was at the same time conveyed to him in the shape of the following four Interdictions:—1035

- (1) "A bhiksu who has received the upasampada ordination, ought to abstatin from all sexual intercourse even with an animal."
- (2) "A bhiksu ......ought to abstain from taking what is not given to him and from theft, even of a blade of grass."
- (3) "A bhiksu .....ought not intentionally to destroy the life of any being down to a worm or an ant."
- (4) "A bhikṣu.....ought not to attribute to himself any super-human condition."

According to Sütranipāta<sup>1036</sup> the bhikṣu (1) should not be greedy about casting a look at personal beauty of a person, (2) should not lend his ears to gossips of the townsfolk, (3) should not be greedy about sweet things, (4) should never save articles of food, drink, clothing etc., (5) should not be anxious to get such articles of food, drink, clothing etc., (6) should not indulge in idle talks, (7) should never behave wrongly, (8) should not sleep too much, (9) should forsake idleness, dishonesty, gaudy dress, indecent talks, gambling and idle jokes, (10) should not study black art, astrology, and lakṣaṇatatwa, (11) should not have a fancy for the chirping of birds, (12) should remain unaffected by praise or calumny, (13) should forsake anger, calumny, greel, and desire, (14) should not engage himself in buying and selling, (15) should give up pride, bragging and quarreling, (16) should not tell a lie nor think of evil thoughts and (17) should never utter harsh words to anybody.

<sup>101086</sup> Mahāvagga I. 78. Compare Sūtranipāta, Samyaka-paribrājaniyasūtra, verses 2082 Tamubatakasūtra. verses 922-932.

In course of time when the Buddhist monasteries began to admit advanced students who did not desire to be ordained as monks, the system of admission was different. Thus, at Nalanda and Vikramasila monasteries the students were admitted by the dwarapandits or gatekeepers (one at Nalanda and six at Vikramasıla). Hiuen Tsang1037 says: "If men of other quarters desire to enter.....the keeper of the gate (at Nalanda) proposes some hard questions; many are unable to answer and retire. One must have studied deeply both old and new (books) before getting admission. Those students, therefore, who come here as strangers, have to show their ability by hard discussion; those who fail compared with those who succeed are as seven or eight to ten." This examination at the gate was thus the Matriculation of the scholars to enable them to enter the portals of these Universities. Thenceforth their name had no concern with the register of the state; for there was a register-book of the assembly on which their names were written down, 1058

## §2. Classes of teachers and qualifications required of them.

There seems to have been a system of gradation of Buddhist scholars and teachers. 'The brother who expounds orally one treatise (or class of scripture) in the Buddhist Canon, whether Vinaya, Abhidhamma or Sutta is exempted from serving under the Prior; he who expounds two is invested with the outfit of a Superior; ho who expounds three has brethren deputed to assist him; he who expounds four has lay servants assigned to him; he who expounds five, rides on an elephant and has a surrounding retinue.' 'An ordained priest is Dahara (small teacher); after passing ten summer retreats, (one becomes) a Sthavira (settled one) who could be trusted to live by himself without a teacher's supervision. But the Upādhyāya and the Āchārya are the most important classes of teachers. According to I-Tsing<sup>1039</sup> "'upādhyāya' is to be translated by 'teacher of personal instruction; 'achāryā' 1040 is translated 'teacher of discipline.'

<sup>1057</sup> Beal-Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II., pp. 170-71.

<sup>1035</sup> Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 65.

<sup>1089</sup> Takakusu's Eng. Trans., pp. 117-18.

<sup>2040</sup> Ibid.

'it means one who teaches pupils rules and ceremonies'". 1041 L-Tsing observes: "Any one who becomes an upadhyaya must be a sthavira, and must have passed the full ten summer-retreats. The age of a Karmacharya and private instructor, and of other teachers who are witnesses, is not limited; they must be fully acquainted with the Vinaya, being themselves pure; and must be either in the full or in the half number." 1042

## §3. RELATION BETWEEN THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL.

It was ordained that the novice should live for the first ten years in absolute dependence upon his upajjhāya. The relation between the two is described in minute detail in the Vinaya texts 1044 and may be somewhat understood from the following general principle laid down by Gautama Buddha: 1045

"The upajjhāya, O bhikṣu, ought to consider the saddhivihārika as a son; the saddhivihārika ought to consider the upajjhāya as a father. Thus, these two, united by mutual reverence, confidence and communion of life, will progress, advance and reach a high stage in this doctrine and discipline."

The Sigalovada Sutta<sup>1046</sup> contains a section which details the duties of pupils and teachers. The pupil should honour his teacher by rising in his presence, by ministering to him, by supplying his wants and by attention to instruction. The teacher should show his affection to his pupils, by training them up in all that is good, by teaching them

For the relation of Acharya to Upadhyaya see Mahavagga I. 32, 1 note, S. B. E., Vol. XIII. pp. 178, 179.

<sup>1042</sup> Takakusu's Eng. Trans., pp. 104-05.

Mahāvagga I. 32. 1. It was prescribed on a later occasion that a learned competent bhikşu had to live only five years in dependence on his upajjhāya and an unlearned one all his life (Mahāvagga I. 53. 4). In some cases a bhikṣu was authorised to live without a Nisaya i. e., independent of upajjhāya (Mahāvagga I. 53. 5ff).

<sup>1044</sup> Mahāvagga I. 25. 7ff; I. 32. 1ff.).

<sup>1046</sup> Translated into English by Childers in the Contemporary Review, February, 1876.

to hold knowledge fast, by instructing them in science and lore, by speaking well of them to their friends and companions and by guarding them from danger.

The saddhiviharika was to act as a personal attendant to the upajihāya. Sūtranipāta<sup>1047</sup> says: "One should serve his preceptor just as the devas serve Indra". "Let him arise betimes; and having taken off his shoes and adjusted his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, let him give to the upajjhaya the teeth-cleanser and water to rinse his mouth with. Then let him prepare a seat for the upajihāva. If there is rice-milk, let him rinse the jug and offer rice-milk to the When he has drunk it, let him give water to the upajjhaya, take the jug, hold it down, rinse it properly without damaging it by rubbing and put it away. When the upajjhaya has risen, let him take away the seat. If the place is dirty, let him sweep the place. After this he was to help the preceptor to dress and to get the alms-bowl ready if he wished to go out to beg. If the preceptor desired it, the pupil was to follow him as his attendant on the begging tour, keeping not too far away and not too near him. If the preceptor' speaks, he is not to interrupt him. After the begging is over the pupil was to get back quickly to the monastery, prepare a seat, get water for the washing of his feet, a foot-stool and a towel. Then he must go and meet the preceptor and take his bowl and robe for him. He must fold up the robe and attend to the clothes of the preceptor. If the preceptor wishes to eat the food in the alms-bowl, he must bring him water and then offer him food. After the meal the pupil must wash and dry the bowl and put it away and also put away the robe. After the preceptor has risen, the pupil must take away the seat and put away the water for the washing of feet, the footstool and the towel. If the place was dirty he was to sweep it. Then he was to help the preceptor to bathe, getting for him cold or hot water or accompanying him to the bathing place if he wished to go there. The pupil also bathed at the same time but had to dry and dress himself quickly so as to be ready to help the preceptor. After the bathing was

<sup>1047</sup> Nabasütre, verse 315.

completed he was to ask the preceptor for a discourse or ask him questions. Elaborate directions are given as to the procedure to be followed by the pupil in cleansing the monastery—the cell, store-room, refectory, fire-room etc. The pupil must also see that there is drinkable water, food and water for rinsing the mouth. also to be a monitor and a helpmate to his preceptor. If he became discontened the pupil was to try and appease him or get some one else to do this. If indecision arose in his mind or he had become tainted with false doctrines the pupil was to try and win him back. If the preceptor is in danger of committing an offence by the words he says, let the pupil keep him back. If the precepter be guilty of a grave offence and ought to be sentenced to 'parivasa', 'manatta' or 'penal discipline', let the pupil take care that the Samgha impose it upon him and that he was rehabilitated after the penance was complete. Again, if the Samgha wishes to proceed against the preceptor by the Tajianiya kamma (or other disciplinary proceedings mentioned in the first book of Chullavagga) let the pupil do what he can in order that the Samgha may not proceed against the preceptor or may mitigate the proceeding. Or if the Samgha has instituted a proceeding against him, let the pupil do what he can in order that the preceptor may behave bimself properly, live modestly and aspire to get clear of his penance and that the Samgha may revoke its sentence. The pupil was also to see that the robe of the preceptor was washed or made or dyed, according to need. He was not to accept presents or give presents or wait on any one else or go out, without the permission of the preceptor. If the preceptor was sick he was to wait upon him and nurse him dilligently". 1048

The preceptor too had corresponding duties. Thus we read: "The upajjhāya, O bhikṣu, ought to observe a strict conduct towards his saddhivihārika. Let the upajjhāya, O bhikṣu, afford (spiritual) help and furtherence to the saddhivihārika by teachings, by putting question to him, by exhortation and by instruction. If the upajjhāya has an alms-bowl (or robe or other articles required for a bhikṣu) and the saddhivihārika has not, let the upajjhāya give the same to the

<sup>1048</sup> Mahavagga I. 25.

saddhivihārika or take care that he gets one. If the saddhivihārika is sick, let the upajjhāya arise betimes and give him the teeth-cleanser and water to rinse his mouth with (and so on with the other duties prescribed for the saddhivihārika). He was to see that the pupil washed his robe and to show him how to make and dye it ".1049

The Milinda-Panha 1050 thus enumerates the duties of the teacher: 'He must always keep guard over his pupil. He must teach him what to cultivate and what to avoid; about what he should be earnest and what he might neglect. He must instruct him as to sleep and as to keeping himself in health and as to food he may take and what to reject. He should teach him discrimination (in food) and share with him all that is put as alms in his own bowl. He should encourage him by saying 'Be not afraid, you will gain advantage (from what is taught here)'. He should advise him as to the people whose company he should keep and as to the villages and vihars he should frequent. He should never indulge in foolish talk with him. When he finds any defect in him he should easily pardon it. He should be zealous; he should teach nothing partially, keep nothing secret and hold nothing back. He should look upon him in his heart as a son, saying to himself 'I have begotten him in learning'. He should strive to bring him forward, saying to himself 'How can I keep him from going back?'. He should resolve to make him strong in knowledge saying 'I will make him mighty'. He should love him, never desert him in necessity and always befriend him when he goes wrong'. I-Tsing1051 says: "It is wrong for a teacher not to import the ten precepts to one who has become a priest and not to communicate the complete precepts out of fear that one should transgress them. For in such a case the novice falsely bears the name (of sramanera which means) 'seeking rest' and vainly embraces the appellation (of pravragita i. e., one) "who has gone forth from his home".

The upajjhaya could turn away a saddhiviharika for improper conduct<sup>1052</sup> but if the latter begged for pardon, he should be

<sup>1049</sup> Mahāvagga I. 26. 1050 IV. 1. 8. 1051 Takakusu's Eng. Trans., p. 98.

what is meant by improper conduct is explained in detail in Mahavagga I. 27. 6-8.

forgiven. 1058 In case the upajjhāya had gone away or returned to the world or died or gone over to a schismatic faction, the saddhivihārikas had to choose an āchāriya who stood in the same relation to them as the upajjhāya.

I-Tsing (who was in India between 673 and 687 A. D.) shows us how the system was working at the time of his visit. He savs: "When one has shaved the head, worn a 'pata' (simple garment) and received the upasampada ordination after having become 'homeless', one need not tell one's teachers the five things as is ordained in the Vinaya1054 but must tell everything else; if not, one will be faulty. The five things to be confessed are: (1) the chewing of tooth-wood; (2) drinking water; (3) going to stool; (4) making water; (5) chaitya-vandanā or worshipping of a chaitya within forty-nine fathoms in the sacred boundary. When, for example, the novice is about to eat, he should go near his teacher, and having saluted according to the rule, announce to him as follows: 'Let my upajihava be attentive: I now announce to you that I wash my hands and utensils, and wish to have a meal'. The teacher should say 'Be careful'. All other announcements should be made according to this example. The teacher will then tell his pupil what to do, concerning the matter and time of announcement. When there are many things to announce the pupil can do so all at once. After the lapse of five summers from the time the pupil masters the Vinaya, he is allowed to live apart from his upajihāya. He can go about among the people and proceed to pursue some other aim. Yet he must put himself under the care of some teacher wherever he goes. This will cease after the lapse of ten summers, i. e., after he is able to understand the Vinaya. The kind object of the Great Sage is to bring one up to this position. If a priest does not understand the Vinaya, he will have to be under another's care during the whole of his life-time. If there be no great teacher, he must live under the care of a sub-teacher. In this case the pupil should do all but salutation, for he cannot

<sup>1055</sup> Mahāvagga I. 27. In some cases the expulsion of the saddhivihārika and his re-habilitation was compulsory.

<sup>1054</sup> In the Mülasarvästivädanikäya-vinaya-samgraha, Book XIII.

salute his teacher in the morning, or ask his health, since he must always act in accordance with the Vinaya, with which he is unacquainted; and even if it be necessary to announce any matter, how can he do so when he himself does not understand the way. Sometimes he receives from the sub-teacher instruction in the morning and in the evening. Even though the sub-teacher instructs such a pupil, the meaning of the Vinaya text may not be understood as it ought to be. For, if he who confesses (i. e., the pupil) cannot rightly indicate his point how can he who answers (i. e., the teacher) give a proper command. A full confession is, therefore, not to be made ".1055

I-Tsing continues: "The following is also the manner in which a pupil waits on his teacher in India. He goes to his teacher at the first watch and at the last watch of the night. First, the teacher bids him sit down comfortably. Selecting some passage from the Tripitaka, he gives a lesson in a way that suits circumstances and does not pass any fact or theory unexplained. He inspects his pupil's moral conduct and warns him of defects and transgressions; whenever he finds his pupil faulty, he makes him seek remedies and repent. The pupil rubs the teacher's body, folds up his clothes or sometimes sweeps the apartments and the yard. Then having examined water to see whether insects be in it, he gives it to the teacher. Thus if there be anything to be done. he does all on behalf of his teacher. This is the manner in which one pays respect to his superior. On the other hand, in the case of a pupil's illness his teacher himself nurses him, supplies all the medicine needed and pays attention to him as if he was his child."1088 The main ideas of this relation of teacher and pupil are taken over from the Brahminic education and are in close similarity with it.

Indeed the Buddhist system of education shows an imitation of the early Hindu institutions. We are reminded of the anadhyaya days when Yuan Chwang tells us that the eighth, fourteenth and fifteenth of each fortnight were fast days, six days in each month when the

<sup>1055</sup> Takakusu's Eng. Trans., pp. 119-20.

<sup>1054</sup> Ibid., p. 120.

Sutras forbid Vedic study and recitation. 1057 We are again reminded of the four monthly ceremonies (chaturmasya), where he describes the first, fifth and nineth months of the year as 'the three long fasts.' Similarly, the winter-retreat or Varsha was strictly observed 1058 but the Buddhist Varsha was shorter than the Hindu. It extended from the first day of Śrāvaṇa to the last day of Āśvayuja. In I-Tsing's time it was four months, from mid-June to mid-October. 1059 As in the Hindu system, classes were held only in the morning and evening hours and never during the heat of the day. 1060

In this connection it may be noted that Kulapati which according to the Hindu commentator denotes a teacher who maintains ten thousand pupils became a word of scorn among monastic Buddhists, for, says I-Tsing: "If any priest decided anything by himself alone or treated the priests favourably or unfavourably at his own pleasure, without regarding the will of the assembly, he was expelled (from the monastery) being called a Kulapati." A Hindu religious student is known as

<sup>105</sup> Watters: Yuan Chwang I. 302.

<sup>1050</sup> Takakusu's I-Tsing p. 21.

<sup>1001</sup> Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>1048</sup> Ibid., Ch. XX.

<sup>1005</sup> Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>1088</sup> Ibid., I. 145.

<sup>2080</sup> Ibid., p. 119.

<sup>1009</sup> Ibid., pp. 24-25.

<sup>1084</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>1066</sup> Ibid., p. 63.

a brahmachārin but according to the Buddhists 'brahmachārin' denoted a student of secular literature and 'mānava' a student of the scriptures who would be tonsured and black-robed later on. 1067

#### §4. CURRICULUM OF STUDIES.

I-Tsing gives us a very nice idea about the curriculum of studies "Throughout India every one who in the Buddhist monasteries. becomes a monk is taught Matriketa's two hymns as soon as he can recite the five and ten precepts (Sila). This course is adopted by both the Mahayana and the Hinayana schools. There are six reasons for this. Firstly, these hymns enable us to know the Buddha's great and profound Secondly, they show us how to compose verses. Thirdly. they ensure purity of language. Fourthly, the chest is expanded in singing them. Fifthly, by reciting them nervousness in an assembly is overcome. Sixthly, by their use life is prolonged, being free from disease. After one is able to recite them, one proceeds to learn other śutras "1068" "In India students learn this epistle in verse (Suhrtlekha of Bodhisattva Nagarjuna) early in the course of instruction, but the most devout make it their special subject of study throughout their lives......There is another work of a similar character called Jatakamala.....The object of composing the Birth-stories in verse is to teach the doctrine of universal salvation in a beautiful style, agreeable to the popular mind and attractive to readers."1069 Mahāsattva Chandra's song about Prince Viśwāntara and Aśwaghosa's poetical songs and Sūtralankāra-śastra and Buddhacharit-kabya were widely read and sung throughout India. 1070

In a previous chapter, we have seen that the Buddhist monasteries began in course of time to impart secular instruction as well. We have seen that there was a long course of grammatical study, beginning when the boy was six years of age and lasting till he was twenty, which was

<sup>1087</sup> Takakusu's I-Tsing, pp. 105, 155 note.

<sup>1008</sup> Ibid., pp. 157-58.

<sup>1009</sup> Ibid., pp. 162-63.

<sup>1070</sup> Ibid., pp. 164-66,

a preliminary to the study of higher subjects. further study I-Tsing observes: "After having studied this With regard (on Panini's grammar called Kasikavrtti), students three begin to learn composition in prose and verse and devote them obserselves to logic (hetuvidya) and metaphysics (Abhidharma-koşa). It elearning Nyayadvara-tarka-śastra (introduction to logic) they rightly vuja, draw inferences: and by studying Jatakamala their powers of comprescionsion increase. Thus instructed by their teacher and instructing oth morniers they pass two or three years, generally in the Nalanda monastery in Central India or in the country of Valabha (Wala) in Western I ndia." (Takakusu's of the Eng. Trans., p. 176). 1 the

If the students wanted to distinguish themselves, in Yoga then they had to read—1071

- (1) 'The Chūrṇi' (i. e., Patañjali's great cowerenmentary on Pāṇini's sutras.
  - (2) "The Bhartrhari śāstra" all tradal eats of principles of human life as well as of grammatical science at
  - (3) 'The Vakya discourse' a treatise on the inference supported by the authority of the sacred teaching and on inductive arrangement.
  - (4) 'The Pei-na' (perhaps Sanskrit Veda) which they evidently studied to oppose the heretics.
  - "The priests learn besides all the Vinaya works and investigate the Sūtras and Sāstras as well." 1072
  - "After having learnt the Yogacharya-śastras, he ought to study thoroughly Asanga's eight śastras. These eight śastras are:—
    - 1. Vidyāmātra-viṃśati (gāthā)-śāstra or Vidyāmātrasiddhi (by Vasubandhu. (Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka No. 1240).
    - 2. Vidyāmātrasiddhi-tridasa-sāstra-kārikā by Vasubandhu (Nanjio's Catalogue No. 1215).

<sup>1071</sup> Takakusu's I-Tsing, pp. 178-80.

<sup>2072</sup> Ibid., p. 181.

- Mahayana samparigraha-śāstramūla by Asanga (Nanjio's Catalogue, Nos. 1183, 1184, 1247).
- 4. Abhidharma (-samgīti)-śāstra by Asanga (Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1199; commentary by Sthiramati, No. 1178).
- Madhyantavibhaga-śastra by Vasubandhu (Nenjio's Catalogue, Nos. 1244, 1248).
- 6. Nidana-śastra (Nos. 1227, 1314 by Ullangha, No. 1211 by Suddhamati).
- 7. Sūtralankara-tikā by Aganga (No. 1190).
- 8. Karmasiddha-śāstra by Vasubandhu (Nos. 1221, 1222).

"Although there are some works of Vasubandhu among the abovementioned śzstras, yet the success (in the Yoga system) is assigned to Asanga (and thus the books of Vasubandhu are included among Asanga's". 1078

"When a priest wishes to distinguish himself in the study of Logic he should thoroughly understand Gina's eight sastras. These are:—

- 1. The śastra on the meditation of the Three Worlds (not found).
- 2. Sarvalakṣaṇa-dhyāna-śāstra (kārikā) by Gina (Nanjio's Catalogue No. 1229).
- 3. The śastra on the meditation on the object (by Gina).

  Probably Alambanapratyaya-dhyana-śastra (Nanjio's Catalogue No. 1173).
- 4. The sastra on the Gate of the Cause (Hetudvara) (not found).
- 5. The sastra on the gate of the resembling cause not found.
- 6. The Nyaya-dvara (tarka)-śastra by Nagarjuna (Nanjio's Catalogue Nos. 1223, 1224).
- 7. Pragnapti-hetu-samgraha (?)-śzstra by Gina (Nanjio's Catalogue No. 1228.
- 8. The sastra on the grouped inferences (not found).

<sup>1473</sup> Takakusn's I-Tsing, p. 186.

"While studying the Abhidharma (metaphysics) he must read through the six Padas, and while learning the Āgamas, he must entirely investigate the principles of the four classes (Nikaya). When these have all been mastered, the priest will be able successfully to combat heretics and disputants and by expounding the truths of the religion to save all." 1074

In later years Tantric philosophy came to be studied at Nalanda, Vikramasila and other monasteries. Dr. P. C. Roy has proved in his History of Hindu Chemistry 1075 that the tantras were the repositories of chemical knowledge and observes: "From the fifth to the eleventh century A. D. the colleges in connection with the monasteries of Pātaliputra, Nalandā, Vikramasīla, Odantapura etc., were the great seats of learning as the temples attached to the pyramids in ancient Egypt and alchemy was included in the curricula of studies".

The foregoing account would show that some of these monasteries stood for the ideal of freedom in learning and welcomed knowledge from all quarters, from all sects and creeds. Indeed some of them were genuine universities in the universal range of their studies and not mere sectarian denominational schools. Thus at Nalanda at the time of Hiuen Tsang "the priests belonging to the convent or strangers (residing therein) always reach to the number of ten thousand who all study the Great Vehicle, and also (the works belonging to) the eighteen sects (of Buddhism) and not only so, but even ordinary works such as the Vedas and other books, the hetuvidya, śabdavidya, the chikitsavidya, the works on magic and the Samkhya; besides these they thoroughly investigate the miscellaneous works". 1076 There were one hundred pulpits whence the teachers discoursed on their subjects. so that there were one thousand men who could explain twenty collections of sutras and sastras; five hundred who could explain thirty collections and perhaps ten men, including the Master of the Law, who could explain fifty collections. 1077 Hiven Tsang himself "whilst he stopped in the convent,

<sup>1074</sup> Ibid., pp. 186-87.

<sup>1078</sup> Vol. I., pp. LXXI-LXXVIII,

<sup>1070</sup> Beal-Life of Hinen Tsang, p. 112.

heard the explanation of the Yoga-śzstra, three times; of Nyzya—Anuszra-śzstra once; the Hin-hiang-tin-fa-ming once; the Hetuvidyz-śzstra and the Sabda-vidyz and the tsah liang śzstras twice; the Prznamula śzstra-tikz and the śata-śzstra thrice. The Koṣa, Vibhzsa and the Shatpadzbhidharma śzstras he had already heard explained in the different parts of Kashmere; but when he came to this convent he wished to study them again to satisfy some doubts he had: this done, he also devoted himself to the study of the brāhmana books and the work called Vyzkarana". 1078 He also "thoroughly investigated the language (words and phrases) and by talking with those men on the subject of the 'pure writings' he advanced excellently in his knowledge. Thus, he penetrated, examined completely, all the collection (of Buddhist books) and also studied the sacred books of the brāhmanas.during five years". 1079

The courses of study were perhaps less comprehensive at Vikramašilā than at Nālandā. The most important branch of learning taught here was the Tantras. Next to the Tantras there were studied Grammar, Metaphysics and Logic. The fact that the dwāra-paṇḍits were eminent logicians goes to prove that Logic was evidently a popular subject. 1080 Here as at Nālandā and other monasteries the teachers and the students occupied themselves with copying manuscripts. 1081

It will be noticed that the curriculum in these monasteries excluded all technical sciences. It was therefore a deterioration from Taxila where the curriculum was more varied. But there is nothing strange in this when we bear in mind that the monks in them had no care about food, lodging and clothing which were supplied to them gratis. In fact the monks had hardly any secular care and their whole endeavour was given to intellectual and spiritual improvement. Moreover, there is no evidence that Law, Mathematics and Astronomy were cultivated in these monasteries. Probably Law was already regarded too much as an exclusive possession of the Brahmins to make intrusion by others

<sup>1077</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1078</sup> Beal-Life of Hiuen Tsang, p. 121.

Beal-Life of Hinen Tsang, p. 125.

<sup>2000</sup> S. C. Vidyabhuşapa—Medizval Logic, p. 150.

<sup>1081</sup> J. R. A. S., 1010, p. 151.

possible, while Buddhism would not have the need of astronomy that Brahminism had for ascertaining auspicious times for sacrifices and other ceremonials.

We find that exercise was encouraged in the Buddhist monasteries in India. I-Tsing1082 says: "In India both priests and laymen are generally in the habit of taking long walks, going backwards and forwards along a path, at suitable hours, and at their pleasure; they avoid noisy places. Firstly, it cures disease and secondly, it helps to digest food. The walking hours are in the forenoon and late in the afternoon. They either go away (for a walk) from their monasteries or stroll quietly along the corridors. If any one neglects this exercise he will suffer from ill health and be often troubled by a swelling of the legs or of the stomach, a pain in the elbows or on the shoulders. A phlegmatic complaint likewise is caused by sedentary habits. If any one, on the contrary adopts this habit of walking he will keep his body well, and thereby improve his religious merit ............When anyone walks towards the right round a temple or a chaitya, he does it for the sake of religious merit; therefore he must perform it with special reverence. But the exercise (I am now speaking of) is for the sake of taking air, and its object is to keep oneself in good health or to cure diseases".

# II. HERMITAGES OF BUDDHIST SAINTS AS SEATS OF LEARNING.

Secondary and Higher education were also imparted in the hermitages of Buddhist saints frequently referred to in Pali and Sanskrit literature. Thus we read in Losaka Jataka<sup>1083</sup> that Bodhisattva was a teacher of world-wide fame in Benares with five hundred young brahmanas to teach. "In those times the Benares folk used to give day by day commons of food to poor lads and had them taught free." In the same Jataka we are told how the villagers appointed a teacher by paying his expenses and giving him a hut to live in. In the Tittira Jataka<sup>1084</sup> we read that "a world-renowned Professor of Benares

<sup>1082</sup> Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 114-15.

<sup>1088</sup> Jätaka I. 234.

<sup>3084</sup> Jataka III. 537.

gave instruction in science to five hundred young brahmanas. One day he thought: So long as I dwell here, I meet with hindrances to the religious life and my pupils are not perfected in their studies. I will retire into a forest-home on the slopes of the Himalayas and carry on my teachings there". He told this to his pupils and bidding them bring sesame, husked rice, oil, garments and such like, he went into the forest and building a hut of leaves took up his abode close by the highway. His pupils too each built a hut for himself. Their kiusfolk sent rice and the natives of the country saying 'a famous professor, they say, is living in such and such a place in the forest, and giving lessons in science' brought presents of rice and the foresters also offered their gifts while a certain man gave a milch cow and a calf to supply them with milk".

Hiuen Tsang refers to such an institution maintained by Jayasena. We are told: "He (Hiuen Tsang) went again to the hill called Yastivana and stopped with a householder who was a native of Suratha and a kshatriya by caste-his name was Jaysena, a writer of śāstras. As a youth he was given to study and first under Bhadra-ruchi, Master of Sastras, he had studied the hetuvidya-śastra: then under Sthiramati Bodhisattva, he had studied the śabdavidvā-śāstra (and others). belonging to the Great and Little Vehicle. Again under Silabhadra, Master of the Law, he had studied the yogasastra. And then again, with respect to the numerous productions of secular (outside) writers: the four Vedas, works on astronomy and geography, on the medicinal art, magic and arithmetic, he had completely mastered these from beginning to end: he had exhausted these inquiries root (leaf) and branch; he had studied all of them both within and without. His acquirements (virtue) made him the admiration of the period. Purnavarma raja, lord of Magadha, had great respect for learned men and honoured those distinguished as sages: hearing of this man's renown, he was much pleased, and sent messengers to invite him to come to his court and nominated him kwo-sse (Master of the kingdom) and assigned for his support the revenue of twenty large towns. But the Master of sastras declined to receive them. After the obsequies of Purnavarma, Siladitya raja also invited him to be " the Master of the country" and assigned

him the revenue of eighty large towns of Orissa. But again the Master declined the offer. The king still urged him repeatedly to acquiesce. but he as firmly refused. Then addressing the King he said: "Jayasena has heard, that he who receives the emoluments of the world (men), also is troubled with the concerns of life; but now my object is to teach the urgent character of the fetters of birth and death: how is it possible then to find leisure to acquaint myself with the concerns of the king?" So saving he respectfully bowed and went away, the king being unable to detain him. / From that time he has constantly lived on the mountain called Yastivana, where he takes charge of disciples, teaching and leading them on to persevere and expounding the books of Buddha. The number of laymen and priests (religious men) who honour him as their Master is always a large one, amounting to several hundred."1085) "The master of the Law (Hiuen Tsang) remained with him first and last for two years and studied a treatise on the difficulties of the Vidya-matra-siddhi sastra, the I-i-lu-lun. the Shing-wu-wai-lun, the puh-chu-ni-pan-shih-i-yin-un-lun, the chwongyan-king-lun; and he also asked explanations of passages in the voga and the hetuvidyā śastras which yet caused him doubt."1086

Comparable to Nālandā in the freedom of its academic life and the variety and catholicity of its studies, as described by Yuan Chwang, there was another seat of learning, the hermitage of the sage Divākaramitra, described by Bāṇa in his Harṣacharita. Originally a follower of Vedic religion and of the Maitrāyaṇi śākhā, he turned a Buddhist and according to Bāṇa had his part in the conversion of Harṣa and his sister into Buddhism. To his calm sylvan retreat in the depth of the Viñdhyā hills were admitted students differing widely and radically in doctrines and practices, followers of all possible sects and schools of thought, gathered together in a common fellowship in the quest of Truth, the supreme object of a University. There came Arhats (Digāmbara Jains) Maskaris (brāhmaṇical ascetics) Svetapatas (śwetāmbara Jains), White-clothed vikṣus, Bhāgabatas, Vanīs

<sup>1988</sup> Beal-Life of Hiuen Tsang, pp. 153-54.

<sup>2007</sup> English Trans., by Cowell and Thomas, pp. 286-37.

(hrahmacharins), Kesalunchakas (those who rooted out their hairs), Kapilas (Samkhyas) Lokayatikas (Chārvakas or atheists) Jains, 1088 Kānadas (followers of Kanada's Vaisesika philosophy), Aupanisadas (Vodāntins) Aisayara karanikas (Naiyāyikas) Kārandhamins 1089 (metallurgists) Dharmasastrins 1090 (experts in law), Pouranikas, Sapta-tantavas (experts in rituals), Saivas, Sabdikas (grammarians), and Pancharatrikas (followers of the Pancharatra sect of Vaisnavas). Nor were Buddhist lcarning and culture less in evidence there: the followers of the Three Refuges (Trisarana) were busy performing the ritual of the chaitya (chaitva-karma): there were students well-versed in the Sakya-śasanas (Buddhist Law); discourses were also forth-coming on Vasubandhu's Kosa or Bauddhasiddhanta; while there were others who specialised in the study of Bodhisattva-jatakas which they were always muttering. These different sects and schools of thought were "all diligently following their own tenets, pondering, urging objections, raising doubts, giving etymologies, disputing, studying resolving them. and explaining."1091

"The Supreme Buddhist Avalokiteswara, compacted of all the letter-atoms of all the sastras,—absorbed without faltering in penances,—revealing the real nature of all things to the student, like the light,—one whom Buddha himself might well approach with reverence, Duty herself might worship, Favour itself show favour to, Honour itself honour, Reverence itself revere,—the very source of muttered prayer, the circumference of the wheel of religious observance, the essence of asceticism, the body of purity, the treasury of virtue, the home of trust, the standard of good conduct, the entire capital of omniscience, the acme of kindness, the extreme limit of compassion, the very

Jina being a name of Buddha while what are now called Jainas are called Arhats" (History of Mediaval Hindu India, Vol. I., p. 111).

<sup>1089</sup> Philosophers of Dhatuvada or elements (Ibid.).

The Mimansakas are probably intended for they based their arguments on revelations (Ibid.).

<sup>1001</sup> Harşacharita-English Trans., by Cowell and Thomas, p. 236.

finality of happiness—Divakaramitra "1092 was the teacher in this hermitage and students belonging to the above-mentioned sects and schools of thought—"all gathered here as his disciples." 1098

III .- METHOD OF TEACHING IN THE BUDDHIST SEATS OF LEARNING.

I-Tsing 1094 observes:—"In the fundamental principles of the Law of Buddha, teaching and instruction are regarded as the first and foremost, just as King Kakravartin very carefully protects and brings up his eldest son; so carefully is a pupil instructed in the Law." Again "the instruction of pupils (saddhivihārika) is an important matter for the prosperity of religion. If this is neglected, the extinction of religion is sure to follow."1095 The manner of teaching is thus indicated: "Early every morning a pupil, having chewed tooth-wood, should come to his teacher and offer him tooth-wood and put a washing-basin and a towel at the side of his seat. Having thus served him, the pupil should go and worship the holy image and walk round the temple. Then returning to his teacher, he makes a salutation, holding up his cloak, and with clasped hands, touching (the ground with his head) three times, remains kneeling on the ground. Then with bowed head and clasped hands, he enquires of the teacher, saying: "Let my upadhyaya be attentive or let my acharya be attentive; I now make enquiries whether upadhyaya has been well through the night, whether his body (lit. four great elements) has been in perfect health, whether he is active and at ease, whether he digests his food well, whether he is ready for the morning meal." Enquiries may he short or full according to circumstances. Then the teacher answers these enquiries concerning his own health. Next, the pupil goes to salute his seniors who are in the neighbouring apartments. Afterwards he reads a portion of the scripture, and reflects on what he has learnt. He acquires new knowledge day by day, and searches into old subjects month after month, without losing a minute."1096

<sup>1000</sup> Ibid., p. 237.

<sup>1098</sup> Ibid., p. 236.

<sup>1004</sup> Takakusu's Eng., Trans., pp. 120-21,

<sup>1095</sup> Ibid., p. 116.

<sup>1006</sup> Takakusu's I-Tsing, pp. 116-17.

The method of teaching seems to have been chiefly oral. The Buddha did not put his teachings into writing and it was handed down by word of mouth as was the ancient custom. 1097 Teaching through questions and answers was the usual rule. This is quite clear from the lessons in the Dialogues of the Buddha and the Milinda-Panha. 1098 The Mahamangala Sūtra 1099 recommend intercourse with śramanas and religious conversations at due seasons. Hindu books analyse the latter into vada or Samvada, like that between Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa in the Gita. Jalpa or the raising of difficulties to be cleared up and vitandavada or casuistry and sophistry. 1100 By these conversations every confusion was unravelled, every lurking error dragged to light, enquiry on the right lines stimulated and directed. But the most valuable result was obtained by the close association with the teacher that these discussions entailed, and the realisation that virtue was no mere subject for speculation or 'academic' discussion but had to be practised with consistency of aim and power of will. Indeed as the education imparted laid stress on the formation of habits and character rather than on mere intellectual sword-play a higher place was naturally given to the āchārya, explained by I-Tsing as teacher of discipline than to the upadhyaya who conveyed oral instruction. Hence the Bodhicharya insists that one must act upto, not merely read, the scriptures, for, "the mere reading of pharmaceutical works will not effect a patient's cure,"1101

Buddhist methodology in regard to moral instruction becomes clear in the works of the age of Aśwaghosa. In the Sūtrālañkāra we have first a moral theme propounded, then a story in illustration and then another moral, if necessary, and lastly the conclusion. We have the

<sup>1097</sup> Dwipabamsa XX. 21.

The Buddha and King Ajātaśatru in Digha-Nikāya, Sāmaññaphala Sutta, 13-101;
The Buddha and Ambathha in Digha-Nikāya, Ch. I. 10-28 and Ch. II. 1-12;
Nāgasena and King Milindā in Milindā-Pañha IV. 7. 69; IV. 7. 70; VII. 5. 41;
IV. 1. 8; IV. 6-60.

<sup>1000</sup> S. B. E., X. p. 43.

<sup>1100</sup> Compare Vātsyāyana on the Nyāyasūtras of Gautama.

<sup>1101</sup> Panchatantra I., pp. 166 and 167.

play of emotion evoked after, as in the 43rd story and dramatic effect aimed at, as there and in the 20th. The Abadana stories are also arranged after a definite plan. They begin and end in quite similar ways, and the moral is invariably pointed out.

It is interesting to find that the Buddha adapted his teachings to the needs and capacity of his disciples. As Watters well puts it: "The Buddha suited his sermons and precepts to the moral and spiritual attainments and requirements of his audience." Those who were low in the scale were led on gradually by the setting forth of simple truths, by parables and lessons and by mild restrictions as to life and conduct. At a later period of his ministry he taught higher truths and inculcated a stricter purity and more thorough self-denial.

The 'project' method of teaching was also employed by the Buddha in the case of the brāhmaṇa Varadwāja. The latter ploughed and sowed for his livelihood and the Buddha therefore converted him by the parable of the sower presented as follows: "Faith is the seed, devotion the rain, modesty the plough-shaft, the mind the tie of the yoke, mindfulness the ploughshare and goad, truthfulness the means to bind, tenderness to untie and energy the team and bullock".

Another characteristic feature of the Buddha's method of teaching and debate was to put and examine his opponent's position first. The Buddha is questioned and he puts a counter-question. Nigrodha the wanderer who had a following of 3000 thought about the Buddha, that by his habit of seclusion "his insight was ruined, he is not at home in conducting an assembly, nor ready in conversation, but occupied only with the fringes of things" and to prove the truth of his opinion asked the Buddha to expound his doctrine. The Buddha, not to be outwitted said: "Difficult is it, Nigrodha, for one of another view, without practice or teaching, to understand that wherein I train up my disciples", and turning the table thus said: "Come now, Nigrodha, ask me a question about your own doctrine." Upon this his followers shouted out: "Wonderful, Sir, the great gifts and powers of the

<sup>1102</sup> Sylvain Levi: Süträlafikära (Nariman's Trans.), Op., Cit., pp. 190 and 191.

samana Gotama in withholding his own theories and inviting the discussion of those of others?" Thus by way of criticising his opponent's doctrine he established his own.

In the Buddha's method of teaching as preserved in the Pali works we find that sometimes parables alternate with doctrine and didactive discourse. He employs similes drawn from the life of man and the life of nature of which he was such a keen observer. From similies there is sometimes a natural transition to fable and romance. Aśoka also added concrete visual illustrations for teaching the Dhamma. 1103

According to I-Tsing "there are two traditional ways in India of attaining to intellectual power: (1) committing to memory; (2) the alphabet fixes one's ideas. By this way, after a practice of ten days or a month, a student feels his thought rise like a fountain and can commit to memory whatever he has once heard. This is far from being a myth, for I myself have met such men". The meaning of this passage is by no means clear, but it certainly brings out the prevalent practice of learning by heart and shows what facility students seem to have gained in doing this. But it is interesting to find that side by side with memorising, thinking and questioning are described as leading to the development of the intellect. Milinda-Panha<sup>1105</sup> says:—

"By growth in reputation and in years,
By questioning and by the master's aid,
By thoughtfulness and by converse with the wise,
By intercourse with men worthy of love,
By residence within a pleasant spot—
By these nine is one's insight purified,
They who have these, their wisdom grows".

Great store was thus set by memorising; but it was learning by heart for constant pondering over the meaning rather than learning by rote.

<sup>1108</sup> Rock Edict, IV. Vimānadašanā hastidašanā cha apighamdhāni cha ananicha divyāni rūpani dašayitvā.

<sup>1104</sup> Takakusu's Eng. Trans., pp. 182-83.

I-Tsing<sup>1106</sup> also says: "He (the pupil) reads a portion of the scripture, and reflects on what he has learnt. He acquires new knowledge day by day, and searches into old subjects month after month without losing a minute." There were thus three steps in the practice of wisdom: study (śruta), thought (chintā) and meditation (bhāvanā).

The method of teaching at Nalanda seems to have been both tutorial and professorial. "They arrange every day about 100 pulpits for preaching and the students attend these discourses without any fail. even for a minute". 1107 Such lecturers were greatly honoured: "When such men gave daily lecturers, they were freed from the business imposed on the monastics. When they went out, they could ride on sedan-chairs but not on horse-back".1108 Nevertheless there was close touch between the professors and the students. I-Tsing 1100 observes: "I, I-Tsing used to converse with these teachers so intimately that I was able to receive invaluable instruction personally from them". He further says: "I have always been very glad that I had the opportunity of acquiring knowledge from them (teachers) personally which I should otherwise never had possessed and that I could refresh my memory of past study by comparing old notes with new ones",1110

A great place was also given to discussion and debate, at least in the higher part of the course as is evident from the following account of Hiuen Tsang about Nālandā: "The brethren are often assembled for discussion to test intellectual capacity, to reject the worthless and advance the intelligent". Again, "the day is not sufficient for asking and answering profound questions. From morning till night they engage in discussion; the old and the young mutually help one another. Those who cannot discuss questions out of the Tripītaka are little esteemed and are obliged to hide themselves for shame. Learned men from different cities, on this account, who desire to acquire quickly a renown in discussion, come here in multitudes to settle their doubts

<sup>1106</sup> Takakusu's Eng. Trans., p. 117.

<sup>1108</sup> Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 64.

<sup>1110</sup> Takakusu's I-Tsing, p, 185.

<sup>1107</sup> Beal-Life of Hinen Tsang, p. 112.

<sup>1109</sup> Takakusu's Eng. Trans., p. 184.

<sup>1111</sup> Watters: Yuan Chwang, p. 162.

and then the streams (of their wisdom) spread far and wide".1119 Hiven Tsang records actual cases of such discussions. Once while he was deputed by Silabhadra to expound some aspects of Yogasastra, another learned man Simharasmi was discoursing on quite contrary doctrines in the monastery, when he silenced him by his questions and drove him in shame to leave Nālandā and repair to the Bodhi monastery at Gava, thence to bring his fellow-student Chandrasimha of Eastern India to Nalanda for dicussion with Hiuen Tsang but Hiuen Tsang prevailed over him at once. 1118 I-Tsing 1114 speaks in the same strain: -- "Thus instructed by their teachers and instructing others, they pass two or three years, generally in the Nalanda monastery in Central India or in the country Valabha (Wala) in Western India......There (in these places) eminent and accomplished men assemble in crowds, discuss possible and impossible doctrines and after having been assured of the excellence of their opinions by wise men become far-famed for their wisdom. To try the sharpness of their wit, they proceed to the king's court to lay down before it the sharp weapon of their abilities; there they present their schemes and show their political talent, seeking to be appointed in the practical government. When they are present in the House of debate, they raise their seat and seek to prove their wonderful cleverness. When they are refuting heretical doctrines all their opponents become tongue-tied and acknowledge themselves undone. Then the sound of their fame make the five mountains of India vibrate and their renown flows as it were over the four borders. They receive grants of land and are advanced to a high rank; their famous names are as a reward, written in white on their lofty gates. After this they can follow whatever occupation they like".

<sup>1118</sup> Beal-Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II. p. 170.

<sup>1118</sup> Beal-Life of Hiuen Tsang, pp. 157-58.

<sup>1114</sup> Takakusu's Eng. Trans., pp. 176ff.

### CHAPTER VIII.

#### VOCATIONAL EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA.

In modern days society is no longer a cosmos but has fallen into chaos and this disorder must be remedied if modern civilisation is to survive. As society in the Indian ideal was a community of rational beings, not a fortuitous concourse of atoms, it was regarded as an organism, a body-politic with definite organs, each discharging a definite function for the benefit and health of the whole community. Under this ancient system, youths were trained up for their future functions in society on a caste-basis and this is re-appearing in the West, as specialised and vocational training. Thus while Vedic study is binding on all belonging to the three twice-born castes, a life of learning or an intellectual career was reserved for the brahmana. The kshatriva is destined for the political and military and the vaisya for the economic career. In Adam Smith's phraseology, the former is for 'defence' and the latter for 'opulence.' It is no wonder, therefore, to find Brahminical texts never tired of dilating upon the merits to be acquired by following the duties of one's own caste. On the other hand, the Dharmasastras 1115 predict in an equally positive manner, grave misfortunes, in the life to come, for those who neglect the duties of The Sastrakaras, however, did not rely upon these their caste. injunctions alone for the due observances of caste-dutics. They armed the royal authority with specific powers to enforce the same. 1116

Arthasastra (R. Syamasastri's Eng. Trans.), p. 8; Vatsayana's Kamasutra, Bk. I. Ch. II. 61, 34.

Arthasastra (R. Syamasastri's Eng. Trans), p. 8; Manu VIII. 418; Viṣṇu III. 2; Yājnabālkya I. 361; Sukranītisāra Ch. IV. Section IV. lines, 82-83. Refer in this panection to the execution of sudra Sambuka by Rāma in the Rāmāyaņa and to the Nasika Cave Inscription which tells us that Gautamīputra "stopped the conta ation of the four varņas" (Ep. Ind. VIII. pp. 60-61).

## § 1. THE EDUCATION OF THE PRIEST.

In dealing with the education which will fit a man for his vocation as a priest it is necessary that we should divest our mind of prejudices and guard ourselves against associating modern ideas with the old state of things. We are accustomed to say that the brāhmaṇas alone could be priests, they alone could teach the Vedas, whereas we have evidences which tend to prove that at least in the earliest times they alone were 'hrāhmaṇas' who possessed a knowledge of the Vedas and could perform the function of a priest. Rules were indeed laid down that nobody should serve as a priest who could not prove his descent from three (according to Kausitaki Sūtra) or ten (according to Latyāyana Sūtra) generations of ṛṣis.<sup>1117</sup> But these very rules prove indirectly that the unbroken descent in a brāhmaṇa line was yet an ideal and not an actuality. It further shows the conscious attempt towards a closer corporation of priests.

We have, however, not to depend upon negative proof alone to establish our thesis. Authentic ancient texts repeatedly declare that it is knowledge and not descent, that makes a brāhmaṇa. Taittiriya-Saṃhitā<sup>1118</sup> declares: "eṣa bai brāhmaṇa ṛṣirārṣeyo yaḥ śusruban." "He who has learning is the brāhmaṇa ṛṣi." Again we have in Kāthaka<sup>1119</sup> and Maitrāyanīya<sup>1120</sup> Saṃhitās:

"Kim brāhmaņasya pitaram kim u pṛchchasi mātaram Śrutam ched asmin bedyam sa pitā sa pitāmaha."

"What do you ask about brahmana father, what do you ask about brahamana mother? Since one who knows the Veda is the father." We are further told: "The brahminhood of a brahmana is encompassed by both the Vedas and the Dharmasastras; and not by the Vedas only. The divine Atri has said so." "He who daily studies the Vedanta, gives up companionship and discusses the Sāmkhya yoga

<sup>1117</sup> Weber-Ind. Stud. Vol. X. p. 70.

<sup>1110 30. 1.</sup> 

<sup>2118 6. 6. 1. 4.</sup> 1120 48. 1; 107. 9.

<sup>1191</sup> Atri Samhita I. 346.

is called a Dwija."1122 Sukrāchārya<sup>1123</sup> says: "Not by birth are the brāhmaṇas, kṣhatriyas, vaiśyas, śūdras and mlechchas separated but by virtue and work. Are all descended from Brahmā to be called brāhmaṇa? Neither through colour nor through ancestors can the spirit worthy of a brāhmaṇa be generated. The brāhmaṇa is so called because of his virtues, e. g, he is habitually a worshipper of the gods with the knowledge, practices and prayers and he is peaceful, restrained and kind." "Again the man who has mastered the sciences and the arts should be the preceptor of all. But one who is unlearned cannot be a preceptor because of birth." These and similar passages seem to indicate that knowledge was looked upon as the primary qualification of a person as brāhmaṇa.

As a matter of fact we find the Pancha-vimsa Brahmana speaking of certain persons as royal seers and the later tradition preserved in the Anukramani or index to the composers of the Rgveda ascribes hymns to such royal seers. Viśwamitra, Devapi and Janaka became brahmanas through learning. 1125 Kavasha, son of Illusha, a lowcaste woman, was admitted as a rsi for his purity, learning and wisdom. 1126 "Perhaps the most notable feature of his life is that he, südra as he was, distinguished himself as a rsi of some of the hymns of the Reveda"1127 viz., Rg. X. 30-34. Viśwamitra, the Purchit of King Sudas mentioned in the Rgveda is described in the Panchavimśa and Aitareya Brāhmanas as of royal descent, of the family of Jahnus. Yaska represents a prince Devapi as sacrificing for his brother Santanu, the king. Similarly, King Viśwantar sacrifices without the help of a priest in the Aitareya Brahmana. The Upanisads tell us of kings like Janaka of Videha, Aswapati, King of the Kekayas in the Punjab, Ajatasatru of Kāsi and Prabahana Jabāla of Panchala disputing with and even instructing Brahmins in the lore of the Brahma. Similarly.

<sup>1133</sup> Ibid., I. 367.

<sup>1198</sup> Ch. I. lines 75-80.

<sup>1184</sup> Sakranitisāra, Ch. IV. lines 43-44.

<sup>1125</sup> Satapatha Brāhmaņa XI. 6. 2. 1.

<sup>1126</sup> Ait. Brah., II, 3. 19.

Swam Kṛṣṇavarṇa in his paper on "Sanskrit as a living language in India" read before the International Congress of Orientals held in Berlin on the 14th September 1881.

the Jaiminiya Upanisad speaks of a king becoming a seer. Satyakama Jabala, son of a slave-girl was the founder of a school of the Yajur Veda, 1128 Similarly rsi Valmiki, the author of the Ramayana was but a śūdra. 1129 If then the brahminhood depended upon the knowledge and learning mainly requisite for Vedic worship, there must have been some specific method by which it was obtained. The method is fortunately referred to in Kausitaki, 55, from which we learn that the teacher had the power to confer arseyam or brahminhood upon his student, apparently if the latter were inclined to adopt the profession of a priest and had, in the opinion of the teacher, capacity required for the same. This is beautifully illustrated by a passage in the Aitareya Brahmana 1180 quoted by Muir. 1131 We are told: "Sacrifice fled from the Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra and approached to Brahman. Wherefore now also sacrifice depends upon Brahman, upon Kshattra then followed Brahman, and said 'invite me (too to participate) in this sacrifice. Brahman replied 'So be it: then laying aside thy own implements (bows, arrows etc.,) approach the sacrifice with the implements of Brahman, in the form of Brahman and having become Brahman.' Kshattra rejoined 'Be it so' and laying aside his own implements, approached the sacrifice with those of Brahman, in the form of Brahman and having become Brahman. Wherefore, now also a kshatriya, when sacrificing, laying aside his own implements approaches the sacrifice with those of Brahman, in the form of Brahman and having become Brahman." There was thus no inherent distinction between a kshatriya and a brahmana and the one might have been changed into the other by a change in the mode of life and profession. same idea also occurs in Aitareya Brahmana: 1189 "He a king when consecrated (diksamanah) enters into the condition of a brahmana" and also in Satapatha Brāhmana.1188 On the authority of these

<sup>1188</sup> Chindogya Upanisad V. 4.

Compare: "Viśwāmitra, Vaśiṣṭha, Mātanga, Nārada and others became elevated by special penances and not by birth" (Sukranītisāra Ch. IV. Sec. IV. lines 80-81).

<sup>1180</sup> VII. 19.

<sup>1181</sup> Original Sanskrit Texts, Vol. I. p. 358.

<sup>1188</sup> VII. 231.

<sup>1188</sup> III. 2. 1. 39 ff.

and other texts Weber<sup>1134</sup> concludes: "Thus every rajanya and vaisya becomes, through the consecration for sacrifice (dikṣā) a brāhmaṇa during its continuance and is addressed as such." Again we have in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa: "Whosoever sacrifices, does so after having become as it were a brāhmaṇa." So also Kātyāyana says in his Śrauta Sūtra: "The word brāhmaṇa is to be addressed to a vaisya and a rājanya also," on which the commentator annotates: "The formula 'this brāhmaṇa has been consecrated' is to be used at the sacrifice of a vaisya and a rājanya also; and not the words 'this rājanya', 'this vaisya' has been consecrated." 1137

Again, as new members could be admitted to a craft-guild only by by some prescribed method, so one could be initiated into this guild of priests only after an approved term of apprenticeship with a Master. This is expressly acknowledged by the Sütra writers. Thus Apastamva<sup>1138</sup> says: "he (the Zchārva) causes him (the pupil) to be born (a second time) by (imparting to him) sacred learning"; and also "this (second) birth is the best": "the father and mother produce the body only".1189 Again, one "whose father and grand-father have not been initiated (and his two ancestors) are called slavers of the brahmana. Intercourse, eating and intermarriage with them should be avoided."1140 "No religious rite can be performed by a (child) before it has been girt with the sacred girdle, since it is on a level with a sudra before its new birth from the Veda". 1141 Initiation, not birth, was thus the real claim to brahminhood and we get here a rational explanation of those elaborate ceremonies which regulated the relation between a teacher and a student.

The analogy with the guild may be carried a step further. As many of these guilds (like those of weavers, barbers, potters and oil-millers) had ultimately developed into castes so the guild of the

<sup>1184</sup> Ind. Stud. X. p. 17.

<sup>1186</sup> VI. 4, 12.

<sup>1188</sup> S. B. E., Vol. II. p. 3.

<sup>1180</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3141</sup> Ibid., p. 10,

<sup>1188</sup> XIII. 4. 1. 3.

Texts, Vol. I. p. 369 and foot-note

<sup>1140</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

those craft-guilds in ancient times, and their representatives, forming so many 'castes' in modern days. It would be as much consonant to reason to say, that the membership of the primitive guilds depended upon birth, as to predicate the same of the ancient brahmana class. It may be noted, however, that the brahmanas of those days did not confine their activities to the function of a priest alone. As we have seen some of them were fighters too, and it is certain that many also followed other professions. But the prohibition to carry arms which we find in the Kausitaki<sup>1142</sup> is probably a typical example of the gradual restriction in this respect. Here again we find that conscious attempt towards making the corporation a closer one to which reference has already been made.

We have all along used the expression "guild of priests". It would perhaps be more correct to say "guilds of priests". For we cannot very well believe that all the brahmanas in different parts of the country formed only one guild. Although there must have been some general similarity in their aims, pursuits and manner of living (as is evident from the Kausitaki), 1143 the more coherent organisation could embrace only a limited section. As a matter of fact we hear of various schools of brahmanas at this period, such as the Yajurvedis. Mandhyandins, Maitrayanis, Rgvedis, Apastamvas, Apastamva Hiranyakeśins, etc. These very names indicate that the differentiating factors were connected with the Vedic authorities relied upon by them and this, in a manner corroborates the theory that it is not birth but knowledge required by a priest which formed the basis of the guilds of priests. The divisions of brahmanas according to 'sakha' and 'charana' also leads to the same conclusion. Indeed when learning requisite for the functions of a priest, formed the basis of the guilds, it is natural that groups would be formed according to the special subjects of study. But when in course of time birth took the place of learning, there must have grown up distinctions based upon locality. Already in the

<sup>1149 93, 104,</sup> 

<sup>1148</sup> Compare Weber-Ind. Stud. X. 41-160.

Jatakas<sup>1144</sup> we meet frequently with the terms "Udichcha brāhmaṇa" and phrases conveying distinct pride in birth in such a family. This was the forerunner of the later Kanuaj, Gauda, Konkanasth and Tailanga Brahmins.

The nature of the education imparted to a would-be priest and teacher has already been described in Chapter I, Section 4 on "The Religious Factor in Ancient Hindu Education". As we have already remarked, a brahmana did not always receive only a priestly education. Sanskrit and Pali works as also the inscriptions refer to many brahmanas who were proficient in all the branches of learning. Thus Drona, taught military arts not only to the Kauravas and the Pandavas but also to a king of the Andhaka family and many other princes. The brothers of Draupadi were taught Brhaspati-niti by a Brahmin residenttutor. Kanaka, the uncle of Kalhana, the Brahmin author of Rajatarangini gave lessons in music to King Harsa of Kashmere. The Jatakas are replete with the stories of brahmana youths going to famous teachers to study sabba sippāni and atthārasa Vijjāthānani. Regarding the significanae of these evidences from the Jatakas Dr. Fick aptly observes: "The three Vedas were manifestly not the sole subject which the brahmanas were taught during their student days; in several places 'all the sciences' are mentioned as what the brahmana has to learn and by this are to be understood, over and above the three Vedas, eighteen branches of science......(which) coincide approximately with the eighteen divisions which are mentioned in the Brahminical systems".1145

That the Brahmins studied also profane literature and Vartta will be evident from the testimony of Manu<sup>1148</sup> who lays down that a brahmana should daily study the śastras such as the Vedas, the Nigamas and other beneficial ones (danyani cha hitani) that lead to an increase of intellect. Such a study of profane literature need not necessarily be for fitting the brahmana student for following the

<sup>1144</sup> II. 82ff., 438ff; I. 356ff., 371ff.

<sup>1145</sup> Fick-Social Organisation in N. E. India in Buddha's time (Eng. Trans. by Prof. S. K. Maitra), p. 131.

<sup>1144</sup> IV. 19.

occupation leading to the production of wealth. It might well have been that he studies the various vidyas to make his education complete and allround. Dr. Narendra Nath Law assigns another reason for the Brahminical study of Vartia. According to him the brahmanas learn the subject sometimes perhaps for the sake of teaching it to their pupils. Says he: "The brahmanas were not merely teachers of theology and philosophy but also of Economics, Polity including even the art of warfare, and use of weapons, also practical and fine arts and accomplishments". 1147

### § 2. Education of the soldier.

The kshatriyas who ordinarily followed the profession of a soldier no doubt represented the nobility, the descendants of the ancient tribal chiefs but there is no reason to suppose that their rank was a closed one or that there was any social exclusiveness about them. The injunction in the Kausitaki 1148 that a brahmana shall not carry arms proves indirectly that formerly even brahmanas accepted the profession of a soldier. Armies of brahmanas existed even in the days of Kautilya. 1149 From Rajatarangini 1150 we find that through the might of the wise king Yasaskara (939-94 A. D) "the Brahmins devoted (solely) to their studies, did not carry arms". The existence of armies of vaisyas and sudras is proved by Kautilya's Arthasastra. 1151 Indeed even when the caste system became rigid, the sastric injunction 1152 that though ordinarily it is the duty of the kshatriya to embrace the profession of arms, it was yet the duty of all the twice-born classes to take up arms when Dharma is in danger shows that military training was not the monopoly of a class.

The admission into this guild of warriors was marked by the initiation ceremony. The education of such warriors commenced with Vedic learning in general and was then specialised in the study of Dhanurveda and Rājanīti. The later age at which the kṣhatriyas were

<sup>1147</sup> Indian Antiquary, 1918, p. 240.

<sup>1140 93, 104,</sup> 

<sup>1140</sup> Arthasastra (R. Syamasastri's Eng. Trans., p. 417.

<sup>1150</sup> VI. 9.

<sup>2161</sup> R. Syamasastri's Eng. Trans., p. 417.

<sup>1152</sup> Sukranitisara Ch. IV., line 599.

supposed to start their schooling must be taken to indicate that its character was for them somewhat different from the instruction which the young novice for priesthood received. The latter was at school to be prepared for his future vocation as a priest and teacher and much that he would require to know would be useless to the youths of other professions. The study of the Vedas by the kṣhatriya may have included the memorising of the Vedic hymns, an acquaintance with the philosophic teachings of the Upanisads and certain parts of the six Vedāngas such as were necessary for the understanding of the Vedic texts or for an acquaintance with the duties to be performed in after life. Greater emphasis was undoubtedly laid on his military training.

In the Ramayana 1153 we find a reference to the military exercises of soldiers which were, however, stopped for a few days on the death of King Dasaratha. That the troops were regularly trained in military arts is evident from the Ayodhyakanda 67th sarga where we are told that the sages who have assembled in the royal assembly on the death of Dasaratha said in the course of their address to Vasistha on the evils that would befall a kingless state, that no body hears any longer the sound of the feet of heroes who are engaged in learning the use of arms. In the Yuddhakanda 12th sarga we are told that Ravana after casting a look at the councillers addressed Prahasta, the commander-in-Chief thus: "Hero! order my four-limbed army which is well-trained in military arts to defend the city carefully against the enemy". Military tournament were also held for testing the military skill of soldiers. When Bharata went to Rāma in Chitrakūta, the latter asked the former the following question: "Do you show favour to those who are skilled in war and to those who have proved their valour in the presence of an assembled crowd?".1154 That Rama also took part in tournaments is evident from Ayodhyakanda 36th sarga where repentant Dasaratha orders Sumanta to send those who took part with Rama in such tournaments to accompany Rams in the forest. Indeed the city of Ayothyz was filled with heroes who were proficient in Dhanurveda.

It was three yojanas in area and nobody dared to give battle within this area and hence it was called Ayodhyā. 1155

In the Mahabharata<sup>1186</sup> Yudhiştir said to Kṛṣṇa: "When the army is welltrained it does fighting work quite well; untrained soldiers are worthless; therefore considerate people properly train them". Maharşi Nārada, asked Yudhiştira among others the following questions: "Are you giving military training to the princes with the help of military experts". 1157 "Has your army succeeded in defeating the enemy, being trained by the commanders (balamukhyas)". 1158 Dhṛṭaraṣṭra while speaking to Sañjaya about the qualities of his army says: "They (my soldiers) are experts in climbing, riding, quick march, beating, entering and in coming (out of a fort) and their skill in fighting on elephants, in horsemanship and in charioteering has been tested". 1159 In the Ādiparba<sup>1160</sup> of the Mahābhārata we are told how the Pāṇḍava and Kaurava brothers had their military skill tested by their tutor Droṇa and then gave a public demonstration of it before the people in a military tournament.

Kautilya's Arthasastra contains many references to military training. According to it "footmen, horses, charioteers and elephants shall be given necessary training in the art of war at sunrise, on all days but those of the conjunction (of planets); on these occasions of training the king shall ever be present and witness their exercise." Magasthenes remarks: "There are royal stables for horses and elephants and a royal magazine for the arms, because the soldier has to return his arms to the magazine and the horses and elephants to the stables." In the Arthasastra<sup>1162</sup> also we find mention of an Ayudhagara under a Superintendent. It was to this magazine that "soldiers had to return their arms after drill every morning. They could not move about with weapons without passport." "The Superintendent of

<sup>1186</sup> Bilakinda, 6th sarga.

<sup>1156</sup> Savāparva, 19th adhyāya.

<sup>1157</sup> Ibid., 5th adhyāya.

<sup>1150</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1150</sup> Dropaparva, 114th adhyaya.

<sup>1200 34</sup>th-37th adhyayas,

<sup>1161</sup> Arthadistra (R. Syāmašāstri's Eng. Trans.), pp. 309-10.

<sup>1208</sup> Ibid., p. 810.

chariots shall also examine the efficiency in the training of troops in shooting arrows, in hurling clubs and cudgels, in wearing mail armour, in equipment, in charioteering, in fighting seated on a chariot, and in controlling chariot-horses"1163 "The same rule shall also apply to the Superintendent of the Infantry."1164 Kautilya 1165 also refers to the entire army (chaturangabila) trained in the skilful handling of all kinds of weapons and in leading elephants, horses and chariots. In describing the qualities of the best army Kautilya1166 says that it must be "trained in fighting various kinds of battles and skilful in handling various forms of weapons." In discussing the question whether a country with a large number of effete persons is better or a country with a small number of brave persons, Kautilya1167 says that "a large number of effete persons is better in as much as they can be employed to do other kinds of work in the camp: to serve the soldiers fighting in the battle-fields and to terrify the enemy by its number. It is also possible to infuse spirit and enthusiasm, discipline and training." According to Kautilya<sup>1168</sup> the troubles of the army among others are: -" That which is specially trained to a particular kind of manœuvre and encampment; that which is trained in a particular movement in a particular place; and that which is blind (i. e., untrained)." Kautilya1169 further observes: "Of armies which are trained either to a particular kind of manœuvre and encampment or a particular movement in a particular place, that which is taught a special kind of manœuvre and encampment may be taken to fight but not the army whose way of making encampment and marches is only suited to a particular place." Again, "of troops that have lost their leader or which are not trained, those that have lost their leader may be taken to fight under the leadership of a different person but not the troops which are not Kautilya<sup>1171</sup> also refers to the army of kshatriyas "trained in the art of wielding weapons." He also refers to "trained men"1172 as also to "men who are trained to fight in desert tracts,

<sup>2148</sup> Ibid., p. 175.

<sup>1166</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>1155</sup> Ibid., p. 176.

<sup>1100 1</sup>bid., p. 321.

<sup>1107</sup> Thid.

<sup>1105</sup> Ibid., p. 405.

<sup>2200</sup> Ibid., b. 407,

<sup>\$170</sup> Tbid.

<sup>1171</sup> Ibid., p. 417.

<sup>1178</sup> Ibid., p. 429,

forests, valleys or plains "1172 and to "those who are trained to fight from ditches or height during day and night." 1174 "The pay of a trained soldier" according to Kautilya 1175 "was 500 panss per annum."

The Sukranitisāra also contains many references to military training. Thus we are told that "armies are of two kinds untrained and trained." 1176 "The trained army is that which is skilled in vyuhas or military tactics, the opposite is the untrained." 1177 Sukra also refers to "watchmen well-trained in the use of arms and weapons." 1178 He further says: "the un-trained, inefficient and the raw recruit are all like bales of cotton. The wise should appoint them to other tasks beside warfare." 1179 "The men, however, can overpower the enemy with a small but well-trained army." 1180

Parades were held twice every day under the supervision of the head of 100 soldiers. Sukrāchārya says: "The man who trains up the soldiers in the morning and in the evening in military parades and who knows the art of warfare as well as the characteristics of battle-fields is the Satānika." According to Sukra the king should divide the day and night into thirty muhūrtas 1182 and spend one muhūrta (i. e, 48 minutes) over the military exercises of regiments. Again while discussing the physical advantages and disadvantages of various regions from the military standpoint he says: 1184 "That country is excellent in which there are facilities for the regular parade and exercises of one's own soldier.

Sukrāchārya has also pointed out the proper method of developing the various methods of military strength—(1) physical, (2) moral and (3) intellectual. Says he: "Strength of physique is to be promoted in the interest of hand-to-hand fights by means of tussles between peers, exercises, parades and adequate food. The king should promote

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1178 Ibid., p. 444.
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<sup>1175</sup> Ibid., p. 308.

<sup>1177</sup> Ibid., line 24.

<sup>1170</sup> Ibid. Ch., IV., lines 356-57.

<sup>1191</sup> Ibid., Ch., II., lines 286-87.

<sup>1108</sup> Ibid, Ch., I., line 567.

<sup>1174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1176</sup> Sukranitisăra, Ch., IV., line 19.

<sup>1178</sup> Ibid., Ch., I., line 577.

<sup>1180</sup> Ibid., line 362.

<sup>1182</sup> Ibid. Ch., I., line 571.

<sup>2104</sup> Ibid., Ch., IV., lines 454-55.

the strength of valour and prowess by means of hunting excursions against tigers (and big games) and exercises among heroes and valorous people with arms and weapons. The strength of the army is to be increased by good payments, that of arms and weapons by penances and regular exercises and that of intelligence by the companionship of (or intercourse with) the men learned in the sastras."1185

"The military regulations" according to Sukracharya "should be communicated to the soldiers every eighth day." The king" says he "should daily make the soldiers hear of the virtues that promote valour and witness the musical and dancing performances that also tend to augment prowess." That the troops and the military officers had their appropriate uniforms is evident from Sukrantisara. Sukra even lays down rules about tidiness and careful handling of arms and uniforms as items of military discipline. Says he: "They (the troops) should keep the arms, weapons and uniforms quite bright (and ready for use)." 1190

According to Sukra "full pay is to be granted to those who are trained soldiers. Half pay is to be given to those who are under military training." 1191

According to him "the king should every morning and evening exercise himself with elephants, horses, chariots and other conveyances. And he should learn as well as teach the military arrangements of soldiers." In another place Sukra says: "The king should always practise military parades with the troops and strike the objective by means of missiles at the stated hours." In yet another place he says that the king should make the children of his family proficient in the science of archery (Dhanurveda) and in the feats of arms (Sauryavidya). The terms 'Dhanurveda' and 'Sauryavidya' probably refer to the theoretical and applied branches of military education.

<sup>1105</sup> Ibid., Ch. IV. section VII., lines 32-37.

<sup>1167</sup> Ibid., Ch. V., lines 183-84.

<sup>1189</sup> Ibid., Ch. II., line 296.

<sup>2192</sup> Ibid., lines 786-87.

<sup>1108</sup> Ibid., Ch. IV., section VII., lines 779-80,

<sup>1186</sup> Ibid., line 768.

<sup>1188</sup> Ibid., Ch. IV., Section VII. line 775.

<sup>1100</sup> Ibid., Ch. IV., section VII., line 775.

<sup>2102</sup> Ibid., Ch. I., lines 663-64.

<sup>2104</sup> Ibid., Ch. II. lines 43-46,

King Hemangada of the Kalingas bore scars on his forearm on account of the constant practice in throwing arrows. Practice of archery by King Dasaratha is also referred to in Raghuvamsam. We are also told of the hands of princes whose skin had become hard by the constant friction of the bow-string. Paṇalies also describes the stout forearm of Kumāragupta, a Mālava prince as "marked by the bow-string's scar". Bāṇalies describes Harsa as more delighting in the bow than Drona, more unerring with the arrow than Aswathama".

Even at the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit "the national guard are heroes of choice valour and as the profession is hereditary, they become adepts in military tactics.......They are perfect experts with all the implements of war having been drilled in them for generations". 1200 ...

Among the Rajputs, the youthful candidates were initiated to military fame by the ceremony of Kharg-bandāi which took place when the young Rajput was considered fit to bear arms. At the ceremony the young warrior was presented with a lance and his sword was buckled to his side. 1201 From Kalhaņa's Rājatarangiņā 1202 we find that Astrapūjā was prevalent in Kashmere in the reign of King Kalasa. Astrapūjā consists of certain rites in honour of the sword and other weapons as are performed to the present day by the Raiputs of the Dogrā country. 1203 In the Mahābhārata 1204 we find Viṣṇu advocating the worship of the sword (kharga).

William Ward referring to a work in Sanskrit on the military arts called Dhanurveda, says: "It was contrary to the laws of war to smite a warrior overcome by another or one who had turned his back or who was running away; or one fearful or he who had asked for quarter or he who had declined further fighting or one unarmed; or a single charjoteer who had alone survived in the engagement: or one deranged; or females, children or old men".1305 There were certain rules also with

<sup>1198</sup> Raghuvamsam VI. 56.

<sup>1196</sup> IX. 63.

<sup>1107</sup> Ibid., X1. 40.

<sup>1198</sup> Harsacharita—Cowell and Thomas, p. 120.

<sup>1100</sup> Ibid., p. 63.

<sup>1900</sup> Watters-Yuan Chwang, Vol. I., p. 171.

<sup>1201</sup> Tod-Annals of Rajasthan, pp. 63, 512.

<sup>1202</sup> V. 246

Stein—The chronicles of Kashmere by Kalhana, Vol. I,, p. 289 foot-note.

1204 Santiparva, 166th adhyaya.

1205 A View of the Hindus, II. 461,

regard to combats. In fighting for instance with the club or mace, it was unlawful to strike below the navel. The spirit of chivalry thus inculcated must have set before these young soldiers a high ideal of valour and virtue.

But in the later Mediæval Hindu period, Hindu intelligence seems to have revelled more in the study of poetics and dramaturgy than in the more necessary study of the art of war. The army consisted chiefly of the quotas furnished by the Samantas. Such a feudal army cannot be relied on either in respect of numbers or of efficiency. The attention and affluence of kings were bestowed more upon court-poets than upon generals; the stage attracted the people more than the camp. Moreover, owing to the recrudescence of the doctrine of Ahimsa due to the rise of new Vaisnavism and the progress and popularity of Jainism, of Lingayat and other sects, the great body of the people with the exception of the Rajputs gave up animal diet and accepted the non-slaughter of animals as a binding religious duty. Thus they became unfit as well as unwilling to fight. 1206 There are no doubt examples of Brahmin and even brave Jaina generals and soldiers in this period but the generality of the people being unaccustomed to fight and becoming by their food unagressive and docile when the Rajputs failed, all the Hindu kingdoms from the Sutlez to the Brahmaputra and from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas succumbed and almost willingly submitted to the Moslem yoke within the short period of a quarter and a century.

## § 3. COMMERCIAL EDUCATION.

The vaisyas represented the mass of the people at large from which, the two upper classes were recruited. They along with the brahmanas and the kshatriyas were to be initiated with the sacred thread as a preliminary to entering upon the study of the Veda which was to

<sup>1306</sup> Marco Polo remarks: "They (the people of the country) are most wretched soldiers.

They will kill neither beast, nor bird nor anything that hath life" (George B. Parks—Travels of Marco Polo, p. 276.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1207</sup> Compare Satapatha Brāhmaṇa 11. 2. 7. 16; 12. 7. 3. 8; Fick, p. 163; Senart—Castes, p. 153; and Oldenburg in Z. D. M. G. Vol. Li., p. 280.

last at least twelve years. 1202 The later age at which the vaisyas were supposed to start their schooling may be taken to indicate that they were not expected to attain to the same proficiency in Vedic learning as the young novice for priesthood. Moreover, with regard to the vaisyas trade, rearing cattle and agriculture were regarded as their special pursuits 1209 and in fitting themselves for these, they would have less benefit from the Vedic schools than even the kshatriyas.

Therefore, for the vaisya boy there was a nice system of commercial education. Thus in the Mahāvagga<sup>1210</sup> we are told of three professions—lekhā, gaṇanā and rūpa. The Hātigumphā inscription of Khāravela, king of Kalinga also refers to these branches of learning.<sup>1211</sup> Lekhā signifies the art of writing which includes not only the niceties of style and diction but also the different forms of correspondence<sup>1212</sup> as will be seen from Ch. X. of the Adhyakṣa-prachāra of Kautilya's Arthasāstra which in its concluding verse tells us that there were not one but many verses on the subject. Kautilya<sup>1213</sup> thus tell us:

"Writs are of great importance to kings, in as much as treaties and ultimata leading to war depend upon writs......

"As to a writ addressed to a lord (iswara) it shall contain a polite mention of his country, his possessions, his family and his name; and as to that addressed to a common man (aniswara) it shall make a polite mention of his country and name.

"Having paid sufficient attention to the caste, family, social rank, age, learning (śruta), occupation, property, character (śīla), blood-relationship of the addresse, as well as to the place and time of writing, the writer shall form a writ befitting the position of the persen addressed.

<sup>1208</sup> Gautama I; Apastamva I. 1; Manu X. 1.

<sup>1808</sup> Manu X. 79. 1910 S. B. E., XIII. p. 201ff.

Lekha rūpa gaņanā vyavahāra vidhivišāradena sarvavidyāvadātena. Compare— Muddagaņanasankhalekhašilpatthanesu in the Milindā-Pañha, 59, 13.

<sup>2014</sup> Compare 'correspondents' in Jätaka No. 96.

<sup>1818</sup> Arthefastra (R. Syamafastri's Eng. Trans.), pp. 80-85.

- "Arragement of subject-matter (arthakrama), relevancy (sambandha) completeness, sweetness, dignity, and lucidity are the necessary qualities of a writ.
- "The act of mentioning facts in the order of their importance is arrangement.
- "When subsequent facts are not contradictory to facts just or previously mentioned and so on till the completion of the letter, is termed relevancy.
- "Avoidance of redundancy or deficiency in words or letters; impressive description of subject-matter by citing reasons, examples and illustrations; and the use of appropriate and suitably strong words (asrantapada) is completeness.
- "The description in exquisite style of a good purport with a pleasing effect is sweetness.
  - "The use of words other than colloquial (agramya) is dignity.
  - "The use of well-known words is lucidity.....
- "The word "iti" is used to indicate the completion of a writ; and also to indicate an oral message as in the phrase "vāchikamasyeti," an oral message along with this writ."
- "Calumniation, commendation, inquiry, narration, request, refusal, censure, prohibition, command, conciliation, promise of help, threat and persuasion are the thirteen purposes for which writs are issued.......
- "Also writs of information, of command and of gift; likewise writs of remission, of licence, of guidance, of reply and of general proclamation are the varieties.....
- "Clumsiness, contradiction, repetition, bad grammar and misarrangement are the faults of a writ.
- "Black and ugly leaf and uneven and uncoloured writing cause clumsiness (akanti).
- "Subsequent portion disagreeing with previous portion of a letter, causes contradiction (vyāghāta).

- "Stating for a second time what has already been said above is repetition.
- "Wrong use of words in gender, number, time, and case is bad grammar (apaśabda).
- "Division of paragraphs (varga) in unsuitable places, omission of necessary division of paragraphs and violation of any other necessary qualities of a writ constitute misarrangement (samplava).
- "Having followed all sciences and having fully observed forms of writing in vogue, these rules of writing royal writs have been laid down by Kautilya in the interest of Kings."

Visnu Samhitā<sup>1214</sup> lays down thirteen sūtras for the writing of documents which he classifies under three heads. These documents must have distinct, clear letters, page-marks and a seal affixed thereto.<sup>1215</sup> Sukrāchārya says: "Documents are of two kinds—for describing works or deeds and keeping accounts of income and expenditure. Each however has been greatly diversified through varieties of usage and practice". <sup>1216</sup> He describes fifteen kinds of business and legal documents, <sup>1217</sup> the deed of compromise, <sup>1218</sup> the documents of private nature like ksemapatra and vāṣāpatra. <sup>1219</sup> "The documents for keeping accounts are of various kinds according to the differences in amount, great and small, values and measurements". <sup>1220</sup>

In this connection we may well refer to the Kharosthi inscriptions and documents that have been recovered from a large area in S. E. Turkisthan from Niya to the extremity of the Lobnor region. These may be conveniently divided into five classes according to the materials on which they were written: (1) documents on wooden tablets, with clay seals on some of them (2) documents on leather (3) paper documents (4) writings on silk (5) inscriptions on frescoes of shrines.

<sup>1914</sup> Ch. VII.

<sup>1915</sup> Ibid., Ch. VII. 12.

<sup>2216</sup> Sukranītisāra, Ch. II., lines 599-600.

<sup>1817</sup> Toid., lines 601-28.

<sup>1218</sup> Ibid., lines 629-30.

<sup>1210</sup> Ibid., lines 637-40.

<sup>1920</sup> Ibid., lines 643-44.

<sup>1221</sup> Kharosthi Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkisthan.

2 Vols. Transcribed and Edited by A. M. Boyer.

The interest of the first three classes lie in the fact that they are of an altogether secular character and are written in a sort of Prakrit dialect. Therein we find official advice as to the decision of different disputes or other instructions to the local officials: deeds of agreement, bonds and similar legal instruments; records of accounts, or lists, public or private; letters of information (technically known as vimnadi—lekha) etc. Similar documents on wood and paper in Chinese have been recovered from different sites in E. Turkisthan<sup>1923</sup> some of which have been published by M. Chavannes.<sup>1223</sup> Similar records on wood and paper in Tibetan<sup>1224</sup> have been recovered from the Miran and Mazartagh sites by Sir A. Stein. Documents of a similar nature in Khotanese<sup>1225</sup> and Uigurish<sup>1226</sup> have also been found. Documents of a similar nature are still use in Eastern Turkisthan as we know from a few extracts in R. B. Shaw's Sketch of the Turki language.

Now one may ask the question, from which country this particular mode of composing letters, both official and private, was first introduced in the far off region of Central Asia. This is not the place to discuss the much disputed theory about the possibility of an early immigration from India to this part of Asia as found in legends<sup>1227</sup> or to find out how far the traditional tales about Khotan handed down by the Tibetans about the invasion of Soked (Saketa) by Li (Khotan) is based on fact.<sup>1228</sup> But it is certain that the discovery in the Lobnor region of records which are not only written in an alphabet used in India—for Kharosthi is essentially the alphabet of Gāndhāra—but also in an Indian dialect viz., Prakrit, showing the use of this foreign language for purposes of administration even at the very threshold of China cannot be well-accounted for by these traditional tales.

<sup>1999</sup> Serindia, General Index, pp. 15-20 and Ancient Khotan, App. A.

<sup>1998</sup> Tbid., p. 1329.

Rev. A. H. Francke, Tibetan Documents from Chinese Turkisthan, J. R. A. S. 1914, p. 37ff.

<sup>1925</sup> Hærnle, Reports 1902, Pt. II., 1p. 36ff.

<sup>1996</sup> Serindia, pp. 84, 1175; Gruenwedel.......Bericht p. 181ff.

<sup>1307</sup> Ancient Khotan, I. p. 156.

<sup>1226</sup> Sten Konow, S. B. A. W., 1916, p. 820 and J. R. A. S., 1914, p. 8892.

But the existence of the Kushana empire which included both Chinese Turkisthan and N. W. India and the extension of Buddhism into the heart of Central Asia by this Empire seem to supply a satisfactory answer to our question. The stereotyped complimentary phrases used in the Kharosthi documents are pre-eminently Indian and sometimes Buddhistic in nature. Stein has also noticed how the style of writing in these records follows closely the instructions given in the Kashmerian manual Lokaprakāśa. 1929 It seems certain, therefore, that like the script and the language the mode of composing these letters, official and private, was introduced from India and probably from the N. W. parts.

The word 'gaṇanā' for similar reasons cannot mean 'arithmetic' but 'accounts,' corresponding to 'gaṇanākhya' of Kautilya. Even in later times this word had this meaning and we thus find the term 'gaṇanāpati' used by Kalhaṇa in his Rājatarañgiṇī and understood correctly by Dr. Stein to denote "Head of Account Office." Kautilya says:

"The superintendent of accounts shall have the Accountants office constructed with doors facing either the North or the East, with seats (for clerks) kept apart and with shelves of account-books well-arranged.

"Therein the number of several departments; the description of the work carried on and of the results realised in the several manufactories (karmanta); the amount of profit, loss, expenditure, delayed earnings, the amount of vyājī (premia in kind or cash) realised,—the status of government agency employed, the amount of wages paid, the number of free labourers engaged (viṣṭi) pertaining to the investment of capital on any work; likewise in the case of gems and commodities of superior or inferior value, the rate of their price, the rate of their barter, the counter-weights (pratimāna) used in weighing them, their number, their weight and their cubical measure, the history of customs, professions and transactions of countries, villages, families, and corporations, the gains in the form of gifts to the King's

<sup>1939</sup> Ancient Khotan I, p. 365, n. 8.

<sup>1981</sup> The Chronicles of Kashmers, Vol. 1. p. 189.

<sup>1222</sup> Arthafatra (R. Syamafastr's Eng. Trans.), pp. 69-72.

courtiers, their title to possess and enjoy lands, remission of taxes allowed to them and payment of provisions and salaries to them; the gains to the wives and sons of the king in gems, lands, prerogatives and provisions made to remedy evil portents; the treaties with issues of ultimatum to and payments of tribute from, or to friendly or inimical kings—all these shall be regularly entered in prescribed registers.

"From these, books, the superintendent shall furnish the accounts as to the forms of work in hand, of works accomplished, part of works in hand, of receipts, of expenditure, of net balance and of tasks to be undertaken in each of the several departments.

"To supervise works of high, middling and low description, superintendents with corresponding qualifications shall be employed

"Accounts shall be submitted in the month of Asardha.....

"When an accountant has not prepared the table of daily accounts (akṛtāhorūpaharam), he may be given a month more (for its preparation)

"If an accountant has to write only a small portion of the accounts pertaining to net revenue, he may be allowed five nights to prepare it."

In chapter II. 1288 of his Sukranitis ara, Sukracharya also describes the technique of keeping accounts.

It is equally interesting to find Kautilya mentioning 'audit'1234 and 'examination of accounts'1235 among the duties of the Collector-General. He also refers to checking the accounts kept by an accountant as the duty of the superintendent of Accounts. Says he: "The table of daily accounts submitted by him (an accountant) along with the net revenue shall be checked with reference to the regulated form of of righteous transactions and precedents and by applying such arithmetical processes as addition, subtraction, inference and by espionage. It shall also be verified with reference to (such division of times as) days, five nights, pakṣas, months, four-months and the year. The

<sup>1935</sup> Lines 747-73.

<sup>1985</sup> Ibid., p. 68,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1234</sup> Arthasastra (R. Syamasastri's Eng. Trans.), p. 67.

receipt shall be verified with reference to the place and time pertaining to them, the form of their collection (i. e., capital, share), amount of the present and past produce, the person who has paid it, the person who caused its payment, the officer who fixed the amount payable and the officer who received it. The expenditure shall be verified with reference to the cause of the profit from any source in the place and time pertaining to each item, the amount payable, the amount paid, the person who ordered the collection, the person who remitted the same, the person who delivered it and the person who finally received it. Likewise the net revenue shall be verified with reference to the place, time and source pertaining to it, its standard of fineness and quality and the persons who are employed to guard the deposits and magazines (of grains, etc)." 1236

The word 'rupa' is taken by Professor Rhys Davids to mean 'moneychanging and by Dr. Buhler 'commercial and agricultural arithmetic,' Bhāndarkar 1987 D. R. Professor has pointed Adhyaksa-Prachāra XII.  $\mathbf{of}$ ofKautilva's Arthasastra. Chapter Kautilya speaks of 'rūpya-rūpa' and 'tāmra-rūpa' which cannot but signify silver and copper coins respectively. He also signifies an officer 'rūpa-daršaka," the examiner of coins, so that rūpa must be the science of coinage, a study of which is essentially necessary for a stable home and foreign trade.

<sup>1888</sup> Ibid., p. 72.

In the Lokaprakasa 1888 of Ksemendra (middle of the eleventh century) we find a large number of forms for commercial contracts, hundikas (bills of exchange), bonds, official orders etc. In these forms the use of the word dinnara (also written dinar) in the technical sense of 'cash' is extremely common. In Kalhana's Rajatarañgini 1840 the terms "śreyas" and "aśreyas" are used as merchantile terms, corresponding to our 'profit' and 'loss' or 'credit' and 'debit. '1841 Kautilya 242 also refers to bills of exchange (aleśa). Rajatarañgini 1243 also refers to such bills of exchange (hundika). It is unnecessary to enumerate here all the numerous passages of the Lokaprakaśa in which references to commercial contracts etc., are met with. It will suffice to refer the reader to the quotations given in Professor A. Weber's Indische Studien 1244 and to the formulæ of a contract which is reproduced below as a typical example: 1245

"Deyam śri prapte sati bisaya Jayavaneya (the modern Zevan) dam (ara) amukenamuktaputrena keem va neśane sati dharmatah dinarasahasradaśake anke di (10,000, etc) dinara adyarabhya samvatsaram tavat praptatavat di (nnara) sahasra ekam nyayaprayaparihare sati ruddha nibandham nyaytandataya(?) yasya hasteyam hundika tasyaivam."

The text of Ksemendra represents a strange mixture of the usual Kosa and a practical hand-book. Though a great deal of the information given in it is decidedly old and probably from the hand of our well-known Ksemendra, there are unmistakable proofs both in the form and contents of the book, showing that it has undergone considerable alterations and additions down even to the seventeenth century. And it is just this circumstance which strengthens the assumption that the work had remained for centuries in uninterrupted use as a practical manual.

<sup>1989</sup> Prakāša II. and IV.

<sup>1840</sup> VIII. 186.

<sup>1241</sup> Stein-The Chronicles of Kashmere, Vol. II., p. 12 foot-note.

<sup>1242</sup> Arthasastra (B. Syamasastri's Eng. Trans.), pp. 189, 227.

<sup>1343</sup> V. 266, 302.

<sup>1944</sup> XVIII. pp. 289-412,

<sup>1845</sup> For a similar hundika form see Ibid., p. 342.

It may be argued with regard to the teaching of these commercial subjects that at first they were learnt by the boy from his father in the actual course of business and probably amounted in most cases to little more than the minimum which would be necessary for the successful carrying on of the particular trade in which he was engaged. Thus knowledge of the various languages of men need not have meant more than a slight acquaintance with the speech of foreigners with whom trade brought him into touch, picked up in his intercourse with them and a knowledge of the good or evil traits of countries would be gathered in the same way. Thus the commercial education of the young vaisya would, at the earliest period at any rate, be domestic and he would learn something from his father in the actual course of business.

But evidences regarding the existence of trade-guilds with an Alderman (Jeṭṭaka, Prathama Kulika or Seṭṭhi) at its head are so copious in ancient Indian literature<sup>1246</sup> and inscriptions<sup>1247</sup> that it is not unlikely that on the analogy of the craft-guilds they might have made some provision for the education of commercial apprentices. For, Kalhaṇa in his Rājatarañgiṇī clearly refers to the training of merchants and clerks under a teacher. Says he: "Courtesans, the official (kāyastha) the clerk (divira) and the merchant, being (all) deceitful by nature, are (in this respect) superior to a poisoned arrow that they have been trained under a teacher's advice." Kautilya in his Arthaśāstra

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1846</sup> Jätaka I. 368; II. 295; Gautama XI. 21; Chullavagga VI. 41., S. B. E., XX. p. 179; Mahāvagga VIII., 1-16ff., S. B. E. XVII., p. 181ff; Kautilya's Arthafāstra (R. Syāmafāstrī's Eng. Trans.), pp. 190, 228.

Pehoa Inscription, Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 184; Harra Stone Inscription, Ep. Ind. Vol. II. pp. 116ff; Belgaum Inscription, Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII. p. 18; Inscription of the tenth year of Jatavarman VIra Pandya, Govt. Epigraphist's Report, 1915, p. 104; Inscription from Yewur, Ep. Ind. Vol. XII. p. 273; Nidagundi Inscription, Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII. p. 12; Junnar Inscription, Luders No. 1180; Also Ep. Indica, IV. p. 296, foot-note 2; Ibid., V. p. 9; Ibid., IV. 290; Ep. Carnatica, Vol. VII. S. 118; Govt. Epigraphist's Report, 1913, pp. 99-100; Ibid., 1919, p. 5, No. 10; Ibid., 1913, p. 21, No. 141; Ibid., I915, p. 48, No. 478; Ibid., 1916, p. 121; Ibid., 1919. p. 18, No. 216; The clay-scals discovered at Basarh, Arch. Surv. Report, 1903-04, p. 104. Scal Inscriptions discovered in Vaisali, Ibid., 1913-14, p. 122.

<sup>1343</sup> Stein-The Chronicles of Kashmers, Vol. II., p. 12.

refers not only to men "possessed of the knowledge of the sciences dealing with agriculture and the plantation of bushes and trees (Kṛṣitantragulma-vṛkṣāyurvedajñaḥ)" [R. Śyāmśāstrī's Eng. Trans., p. 142] but also to men "who are trained in such sciences" (Ibid.).

Moreover, it is to be noted that there exist in India at the present time what are called Mahājani schools. These exist in several market-towns where the Mahājans or local traders would combine in giving employment to a teacher who would teach their sons writing and accounts, so as to prepare them to follow their own calling. These schools have probably existed from old times but like so many things in India, it is difficult to say whether they are really very ancient or not. But whenever they were started, it must have been because the traders found it more satisfactory for a boy to have acquired some education before he began actual work in the market.

## § 4. TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

The śūdras, it is claimed, have no right to approach the sacred fire (i. e., perform sacrifice) or to read the sacred texts. There are, however, passages in the early texts which clearly assert these rights. 1249

0149 The passages are :--

- (1) "Yathemānı bāchanı kalyānī mā badāni janevyaḥ
  Brahmarājnyāvyānı śūdrāya chāryāya cha swāya chāraṇāya cha
  Priyodevānānı dakṣiṇāyai dāturiha bhūyāsamayanı me kāmaḥ samṛdhyatāmupāmādo namatu".
  —Yajurveda XXVI 2.
- (2) "Satyamahan gavîrah kābyonasatyanjātenāsmi jātavedā
  Na me dāso na me Āryo mahitwā bratam mīmāya yadaham dharisyo."
  —Atharvaveda V. 2. 11.
- (3) "Prahma bai stomānam tribņit, kāhatram panchadašo, bišah saptadašah sūdro barņa ekabinišah."
  - -- Aitareya Brāhmaņa IV. 8. 1.
- (5) "Habişkidehîtih brāhmanasya habişkidāgahīti rājanyasya habiş kridā drabeti vaišysya habişkidādhābeti śūdrasya prathamam bāba sarbeşām"

-- Apastamya Srantastitra L 19.

Some of the commentators, 1250 however, have entirely repudiated the right of the sudras to Vedic study and liturgy. Nevertheless, even these authorities have frankly admitted these rights of the Rathakaras and and the Nisadas who according to these teachers themselves, were not included in the three higher classes or are even non-Aryans as proved by Pandit Vidhasekhara Bhattacharya. 1251

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(6) "Achāntodakāya gauriti nāpita strīrbruyāt muñchagā baruņa pāśāt.
Tameba nāpitam muñcha gāmiti mantram bruyāt."
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-Govila Gihyasūtra IV. 10.

- (7) "Tathaibābritā niṣādasthapatim yājayet".—Āpastamva Srautašutra IX. 14.
- (8) "Sūdrā vājasaneyinah "-Vasistha.
- (9) "Sūdrobā charita bratah"-Gautama.
- (10) "Falārthatwāt karmaņah sāstram sarvādhikāram syāt."

- Jaimini's Pūrva Mīmāmsa VI. 1.

- (11) "Kartūbā śruti samyogādbidhih kātarsnena gamyte".
  - -Jaimini's Pūrva Mimānisā VI. 1.
- (12) "Sthapatirni;ādaḥ syāt śabda sāmarthāt."—Jaimini's Pūrva Mīmāmeā VI. 1.
- (13) Sabaraswāmī thus sums up the views of Bādarı: "So it is clear that Bādarı thought that everyone had a right to the scriptures".

-Mīmānisā sūtra VI. 1. 27, 29.

(14) "Srābayechchaturo barņān kritwābrāhmaṇamagrataḥ Vedasyādhyayanam hidaṇ tachcha kāryam mahat smṛtam."

-Mahābhārata, Sāntiparva, 328th adhyāya.

- (15) "Chatwaro barnah yajiiamimam bahanti"
  - -Mahabharata, Banaparva, 104th adhyaya.
- (16) "Südrānām duştakarmaņāmupanayanam".—Pāraskara Gihyasūtra II. 60.
- (17) "Māskarin observes: "Thus the upanayana is only for a savarna, an ambaştha and a niṣāda. It is said in a smṛṭi: 'Having initiated a savarṇa one should teach him the science of archery; having initiated an ambaṣṭha, the science of medicine; and having initiated a niṣāda the training of elephants.'"
- (18) "One should initiate also a well-qualified sudra and teach him (medical science), but omitting Vedic mantras

—Suśrūta-Samhitā (Nirnayasāgara edition, I. 2. 5.).

- (19) "Sūdrānām brahmacharyatwam munivih kaischidişyate".—Yājnabālkya.
- (20) "Vidyāratham brahmachārī syāt sarbejām pālane gihī"—Sukranīti.
- 1880 Kātyāyana Srantasūtra I. 1. 6.; Apastamva's Yajñaparivāşasūtra I. 2; Jaimini's Mimāmṣāsūtra VI. 1. 25-38, etc.
- 1881 The Viswabharati Quarterly, October 1923, pp. 270-77.

We all know that the vaisvas and the sudras never formed any homogeneous people but remained a conglomeration of different groups of people following different professions and different rules of life. The Vedic literature alone supplies the names of a number of functional groups which correspond to recognised castes of the present day. 1252 In course of time some of these (functional groups) developed into guilds. The Muga-Pakkha Jataka 1955 refers to the existence of eighteen such guilds. It is not possible to determine what these conventional eighteen guilds were, but we get a considerably greater number by collecting together all scattered references in literature and inscriptions—(1) cultivators 1954 (2) traders, 1955 including caravan traders (3) herdsmen<sup>1256</sup> (4) money-lenders<sup>1257</sup> (5) workers in wood<sup>1258</sup> (6) workers in metal including gold and silver 1950 (7) Leather workers 1260 (8) workers fabricating hydraulic engines (odaymtrika) 1261 bamboo-workers (vāsakara)<sup>1262</sup> (10) braziers (kāsakara)1265 (11) weavers<sup>1264</sup> (2) potters<sup>1265</sup> (13) oil-millers<sup>1266</sup> (14) painters<sup>1267</sup> (15) corn-dealers (dhamñika)1268 (16) garland-makers and flowermariners<sup>1270</sup> (18) robbers and freebooters<sup>1271</sup> sellers 1 2 6 9 (17) (19) forest-police who guard the caravans<sup>1272</sup> (20) workers in stone<sup>1278</sup> (21) ivory-workers<sup>1274</sup> (22) jewellers<sup>1275</sup> (23) rush-workers and basket-makers<sup>1276</sup> (24) dyers<sup>1277</sup> (25) fisher folk 1378 (26)butchers 1279 (27) barbers and shampooners. 1280

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1989 Vedic Index, II. pp. 585-86.
                                           1258 Jātaka VI, 1; compare Jātaka VI. 427.
1964 Gantama XI. 21.
                                           1288 Gautama XI. 21; Jätaka I, 368; II. 295.
1266 Gautama XI. 21.
                                           1257 Ibid.
1968 Jataka VI. 427.
                                           1989 Ibid.
1960 Ibid.
                                           1961 Nāsika Inscription (Luders No. 1137;
1962 Junuar Inscription (Luders No.
                                                    Ep. Ind. VIII., pp. 82-86.
                                           1268 Ibid.
                                           1968 Ibid.
1264 Nāsika Inscription (Luders No.
        1137; Ep. Ind. VIII., pp. 82-86.
                                           1906 Ibid.
1967 Jätaka VI. 427.
                                           1268 Luders No. 1180.
1966 Jataka III. 405.
                                           1270 Jataka IV. 137.
                                           1979 Jataka IL 835.
1971 Jataka III. 388; IV. 430.
                                           1976 Ibid.
1978 Rhys Davids-Buddhist India,
                                                                    1975 Ibid.
                                           Ists Ibid.
        pp. 90ff.
                                                                    1977 Ibid.
Pave Thid.
                                           1170 Ibid.
                                                                    1980 Thid.
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These guilds provided for an efficient system of technical education by their apprentice system. The laws relating to the apprenticeship are thus stated by Nārada 1981

"Swasilpa michchhannārhatum bāndhabānāmanugyayā, Āchāryasya basedante kālam kṛtwā sunischitam, Āchāryah sikṣayedenam swagṛha dattasoganam, Nachānyatkārayet karma putrabatehchainamācharet, Sikṣayantamadṛṣtam ya āchāryam samparityajet, Balādbāsayitabyah syādbadhabandhaicha sorhati, Sikṣitopi kutam kālamantebāsosamāpabruyāt, Tatra karma cha yat kuryādāchāryasyaibatatfalam, Gṛhitasilpah samaye kṛtwāchāchāryasyaibatatfalam, Saktitaschānumānyai namantebāso nibarttyante Betanam bā yadi kṛtam jūatwāsiṣyasya kausalam Antebāso samādadyānna chānyasya gṛhe baset".

"If a young man wishes to be initiated into the art of his own craft, with the sanction of his relations, he must go and live with a master, the duration of his apprenticeship having been fixed. The master shall teach him at his own house and feed him. He must not employ him in work of a different description, and should treat him If one forsakes a master, who instructs him properly, like a son. he may be compelled by forcible means to remain (at the master's house) and he deserves corporal punishment and confinement. Though his course of instruction be completed, an apprentice must continue to reside at the house of his master till the fixed period has expired. The profit of whatever work he may be doing there belongs to his master. When he has learnt the art of his craft within the (stipulated) period, the apprentice shall circumambulate him and return home If, however, a salary be fixed befitting after taking leave of him. his skill, the pupil should accept it and should not go to stay (i. e., accept appointment) in the house of another (craftsman)."

The above rules bring out several important and interesting features. In the first place, there was the system of indenture under

which the apprentice and the master were bound to each other for a fixed period stated in the deed. As Viramitrodaya points out, the teacher must make an agreement in this form: 'Let this apprentice stay with me so and so long.' In the second place, the indenture emphasises equally and fairly the obligation of both the master and the apprentices. As regards the obligations of the master, he had to adopt the apprentice as his own son and treat and feed him as such. He should teach him honestly; the master was competent to make him do the work strictly related to the craft he was learning but was not competent to exploit his labour or skill by employing it for purposes unconnected with it. Katyayana fixed a penalty upon the master for employing the apprentice in other work. "He who does not instruct the apprentice in the art and causes him to perform other work shall incur the first amercement; and the pupil may forsake him and go to another teacher, released from the indenture."1282 The master further, should not treat the apprentice like a hired labourer but like a son, with due tenderness and affection. Equally strict were the obligations under which the apprentice was bound to his master. He was to stay at his master's house and do work pertaining to the craft of his choice. Brhaspati 1283 says: "Arts (consisting of) work in gold, base metals and the like and the art of dancing and the rest, are termed human knowledge and he who studies them should do work at his teacher's house." If through the master's efficient training he attains proficiency in the craft before the expiry of the period stipulated for in the indenture, he was not competent to leave the master but had to serve out his full term, cheerfully yielding to him the fruits of his labour as the reward or compensation for the saving of time effected by the superior skill of the master in teaching. Yājňabālkya1384 says: "Even if one has learnt the art (within the prescribed time), he must live in the house of one's teacher for the full period of contract. The student desirous of learning an art, who has received his board from the teacher, must make over to the latter the fruits of his labour (during the period of

Colebrooke's Digest of Hindu Law, Vol. II., p. 7.

<sup>1988</sup> XVI. 6. 1984 II. 187.

his pupilage)." The master was also empowered to compel the return of a runaway apprentice, whom he could flog or confine for his Gautama1285 says: "The apprentice may forsake his disobedience. master either of his own motion (in which case he is liable to correction) or under instructions from his kinsmen who consented to his pupilage. In the latter case, the deserted master can sue the pupil's guardians According to Narada 1986 for a breach of contract." deserted a teacher who had duly discharged his duty and was in no way culpable, was to be compelled to reside with him and was liable to stripes and confinement. 1987 But it was lawful for the apprentice to disobey and even desert his master by way of protest agaist any mortal sin or other heavy crime committed by the latter. This is a characteristically Hindu provision securing the moral purity of craftsmen to which modern industrial legislation is hardly sufficiently attentive. There is again another provision for the payment of a salary to the pupil adequate to his proficiency if it was desired by the master to retain his services, in which case the first claim upon his services belongs to his master.

Lastly, the pupil is recommended to be always humble before his master in the following quaint exhortation: "For science is like a river, ever advancing to a humbler level, therefore as one's knowledge grows broader and deeper one should become ever more humble towards the source of one's knowledge." 1288

This exhortation is indeed symbolical and characteristic of the sacred and spiritual relations that normally obtained between the master craftsman and his apprentices—relations which were the direct outcome of the peculiar educational system and environment under which they worked. To these wholesome relations and specially to the superior educational efficacy of the system which produced them, is to be traced the signal success which is admitted on all hands to have

<sup>1288</sup> II. 43-44.

<sup>1286</sup> V. 19.

<sup>1207</sup> Compare—" Atitya bandhun avalanghya mitrāni āchāryam āgachchati ši yado jāh " in Bhāsa; Pāncharātra I. 18 (Dronabākya).

<sup>1288</sup> Narada V. 12.

been achieved by the handicraftsmen of ancient and Mediæval India and which so largely enabled her to command for much more than a thousand years (from Pliny to Tavernier) the markets of the East as well as the West and obtained for her an easy and universally recognised pre-eminence among the nations of the world exports and in manufacturers. We are however, more concerned with the system than its success, with the method of training than their results, the character of the educational machinery and organisation than the record of its magnificent outputs. 'The essence of the whole system is that the young craftsman is brought up and educated in the actual workshop of his master whose disciple he is. This means that the pupil stands in a peculiar relation to his master, a sacred relation of devoted personal service and attachment in which alone can the learner best imbibe and most naturally and spontaneously assimilate the special excellences of his teacher, his true inward method, even his trade secrets which can no longer be hidden from one whom he has adopted as his son. The very intimacy and depth of the personal relationship between the teacher and the taught solves substantially the difficulties of the educative process, which is impossible in the case of the busy professor at a modern technical school where he is concerned with his students for a few hours in the week and had no opportunity of associating them with his main business in which he is called upon to show his real worth and exercise his best talent. And this brings us to the other aspect of our indigenous organisation, viz., training in the actual workshop where the teaching is learnt from the very beginning in relation to real things, difficulties and problems and primarily by service, by personal attendance on the master. And it is not only technique that is learnt but something more valuable: in the workshop there is life itself, besides mere plants and tools, for, the workshop is part of a home which relieves its mechanical monotony and places the pupil in touch with life and its difficulties, human relationships, culture, and religion, whereby his heart is trained as much as his hand—a thing which is as necessary to art as mere technique.'

There is one other noticeable feature in connection with the rules of apprenticeship as explained by Nārada. It is that considerations

of caste did not affect the admission of apprentices into a craft. The only consideration that mattered was the consent of the apprentice's guardian and relations. This shows that the barriers between occupations were not so fixed and rigid as those between castes. This is proved not only by the aforesaid solitary rule stated by Narada but by the universal permissive regulation contained in all the important law-books, authorising the twice-born classes to take to an occupation of an inferior caste, in times of distress or failure to obtain a living through lawful labour. 1289 The Pali literature, moreover, is full of much interesting evidence on this point. The evidence would show that though normally the trades and crafts were organised on a hereditary basis and technical talent descended from father to son, the way was quite open to exceptions to that rule. Thus in Vinaya1290 we find parents discussing the best profession which their son might take such as lekha, ganana and rūpa, without a reference being made to the father's trade. In the Chullavagga 1291 the viksus are allowed "the use of a loom and of shuttles, strings, tickets and all the apparatus belonging to a loom." We also read of brahmanas as physicians. 1299 goatherds, 1998 merchants, hunters and snake-charmers, 1994 archers and the servant of an archer who was formerly a weaver, 1995 low-caste trappers (nesādā),1296 even cart-wrights.1297 Jātaka No. 495 gives a long list of the various occupations followed by Brahmins. In Jataka V. 290-93, a kshatriya, a king's son named Kuśa in his infatuation for Pabhavati, apprentices himself incognito in succession to the courtpotter, basket-maker, florist and cook to his father-in-law without a word being said as to his loss of caste when these vagaries became known. In Jataka IV. 84 a prince takes to trade while in IV. 169 another resigning his kingdom goes to the frontier where he dwells "with a rich merchant's family working with his own hands." Jataka

<sup>1220</sup> Gautama VII. 6; Važistha II. 22; Baudhāyana II. 4, 16; Visņu II. 15; Manu X. 81.

<sup>1200</sup> I. 77; IV. 128.

<sup>1200</sup> Jataka IV. 361.

<sup>1884</sup> Jataka IV. 457.

<sup>1,806</sup> Jätaka II. 200; VI. 170.

<sup>1991</sup> V. 28.

<sup>1998</sup> Jātaka III. 401.

<sup>1295</sup> Jataka III. 219; V. 127, 128; I. 356, 357.

<sup>1257</sup> Jataka IV. 207, 208.

IV. 156 speaks of a Brahmin who takes to trade to be better able to afford charitable gifts. Brahmins engaged personally in trading without such pretext are also mentioned. Again, we hear of a weaver looking on his handicraft as a mere make-shift and changing it off hand for that of an archer; 299 a pious farmer and his son with equally little ado turning to the low trade of rush-weaving. Stories all of these, not history; nevertheless, they serve to show that social divisions and economic occupations were far from coinciding.

Some of the Jataka stories throw interesting sidelight on the organisation of these guilds. Though the conditions of pupilage (as given by Nārada) are not given, the apprentice in the industrial sense frequently appears in the Jatakas. Thus in Jataka No. 97 we have a publican and his apprentice while in Kusi Jataka1301 a prince apprentices himself to a potter, basket-maker, florist etc. In Jataka III. 475 we read: "Once upon a time, when Brahmadatta was reigning in Benares his son young Brahmadatta and young Mahādhana, son of a rich merchant of Benares were comrades and play-fellows and were educated in the same teacher's house. In Jataka IV. 38 we find that the son of a poor woman of a caravan, a merchant's son and the son of a tailor in the employ of a merchant, "all grew up together and by and by went to Taxila to complete their education." In Jataka V. 457-9 two princes received instruction in arts at the hands of the same teacher who had Kautilya in his Arthasastra 1302 also refers to besides 101 pupils. apprentices. The senior pupil also acts as Assistant Master (pittiachariva). The position of a senior pupil to a Maha-Vaddhaki is indicated by Buddhaghosa. 1303 The relative position of a pupil to a master wood-wright is also indicated. 1504 We have also instances of fees being paid by apprentices to teachers in the Jatakas 1805 where two merchant-sons paid 2000 pieces each.

In course of time it became normal for the craftsmen of a particular trade to belong to one casto, so that the bonds which united them

<sup>1206</sup> Jataka V. 22, 471.

<sup>1800</sup> Jataka IV. 318.

<sup>1202</sup> R. Syamasastri's Eng. Trans., p. 166.

<sup>2304</sup> Jataka I. 251; V. 290f.; Atthasalini, p. 111.

<sup>1900</sup> Jataka II. 87.

<sup>1801</sup> Jataka No. 531.

<sup>1808</sup> Asl, 111 112.

<sup>1808</sup> Jätaka IV. 224, 225; 88, 89.

became stronger and no outsider would be admitted. There were no indentures of apprenticeship and a boy would be learning the particular craft from his father and would eventually take the place of his father as a member of the guild. The system of education was thus a domestic one. The boys had practically no choice of profession and were brought up to the same trade as their father. Where the father was living and in good health he would usually train up his son and the young craftsman was, from the very beginning, trained up in the actual workshop. Moreover, fair and proper training of apprentices was assured as the father imparts industrial skill and trade-secrets to a son more willingly than any other teacher. Moreover, this system of technical education is very cheap and the lad inherits a certain amount of skill from his father and unconsciously imbibes much of the technical knowledge from the atmosphere of the particular profession in which he is brought up. Thus the training was free from the artificiality of the school-room. In the collection of jade at the Indian museum there is a large engraved bowl on which a family in the employ of the emperors of Delhi was engraved for three generations. 1306

But when birth came to determine the whole course of a man's occupation in life, there is little chance of his capacities being always put to the best use and each profession may have to tolerate many persons who are incompetent or useless in that particular profession but who may perhaps do better in some other. Similarly, however worthy or desirable an acquisition a man may be, he cannot enter a craft-guild unless he was born to it. "A craft-guild of Mediæval Europe may expand and develop; it gives free play to artistic endeavour. But the later craft-guilds of India based on birth is an organisation of a lower type; it grows by fission." In such a craft-guild based on birth invention or originality is checked because every craftsman's social prospects are limited to the customary position of his caste. The master craftsman's teaching merely reproduces his old fashioned knowledge and does not tend to progress; he looks askance at new knowledge and new tools and refuses to be wiser than his ancestors. In the sculptures of our old caves and temples and in our woodcarving

<sup>2006</sup> Birdwood-The Industrial Arts of India, p. 142.

and metal decorations we see the same figure or design repeated ad nauseam. As for the training of apprentices, though father is the most willing teacher he is not always the best of tutors nor is the son always the aptest of pupils. Education does not produce best results when both teachers and pupils are chosen by accidents of birth. Denying as this system does, equal opportunities to all, it often becomes the source of grave injustice to large classes of the community.

The question now presents itself how far this system of technical education discouraged the spread of liberal education among the craftsmen. As for the religious side of their education we can pretty definitely say that it was not neglected for, though persons other than the twice-born castes were in course of time excluded from the study of the Vedas they were not shut out from participation in all religious rites. To the idealistic mind of the Hindus, art and industry are the representation of one aspect of the Divinity which pervades every department of life. They therefore transcend the limitation of beauty and form in nature and attempt to represent the ideal as the only true beauty. Beauty has an absolute existence in the ideal plane and is revealed in the mind of the Hindu artist by God. The Hindu artist thus relies more upon the inward inspiration than upon any discipline in reproducing the external form. The God who is the source of all beauty, rhythm, proportion and idea is Viśwakarman. We do not mean to say that these deep thoughts were realised and consciously expressed by every craftsman; certainly not when tradition had become a mere habit. But to adopt slightly the words of Nietzsche, those who first uttered these thoughts in stone or metal and some of those who came after them, knew as well as the wisest ones about the secret of life.

In the Mahabharata Viśwakarman is described as Lord of the arts, the carpenter of the gods, the fashioner of all ornaments, who made the celestial chariots of the deities, on whose craft men subsist and whom a great and immortal god, they actually worship. Viśwakarmā is not only worshipped by craftsmen with offerings and ritual at the beginning of their work but there are also numerous charms and songs with which he is invoked to ward off disasters and assist them in their work. The

tools and implements are also worshipped as they are considered to be gifts of Viśwakarmā whom they are meant to interpret. The artisan's work is also sacred. As it is said in Manu: "The hand of the artisan is always pure." In Eastern Bengal the women of the middle class who work at the charkā worship Viśwakarmā on the first day of the Bengali year by decorating the charkā with flowers and with their own hand-drawing and giving offerings of milk, curds and cheerā. 1807 The weavers particularly do not work in Vijayā Daśamī, on Ekādaśi and Dvādaśī days and worship the loom, the shuttle, and the weights and measures. On the Trayodaśī day they begin work anew. The tilis, the tāmlis and gandha-baṇiyās who deal in spices worship Gandheśwarī on the Baiśākhī Pūrṇimā day with the prayer "bāṇiya bṛddhipurbaka śrīdurgāpṛtibāmo śrīdūrgāpūjāmaham kariṣye."

Coming to the literary side of the craftsman's education we find that in many arts and crafts certain sanskrit works had to be learnt by heart. These contained traditional rules relating to the particular craft, and would not only be learnt but also explained to the novice. Thus in South India there are vastus astris, who know by heart the traditional rules regulating the building of houses, who must be consulted by those who wish to erect new houses as to all the necessary details prescribed by the ancient books. Trom an extract from a Silpasastra quoted by Dr. Coomaraswami in his Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon by the learn that "the silpi should understand the Atharvaveda the thirty-two silpasastras and the Vedic mantras by which the deities are invoked."

Besides this kind of literary education the Indian craftsman also came to know something of the doctrines of Hindu religion, folklore, mythology, epic and other stories that might be handed down in the family or related as the villagers gathered for gossip and discussion in the evenings or taught by some wandering mendicant, wandering scholar or temple priest.

<sup>1807</sup> Guruvandhu Bhattāchārya's article on "Viśwakarmā vrata" in Prativā, 1320 B. S.

<sup>1808</sup> Coomāraswāmi—Mediseval Sinhalese Art, Ch. VI.

<sup>1609</sup> Padfield-Hindu At Home, p. 3,

In this connection we may well refer to the Mandasore Stone Inscription 1211 of Kumaragupta and Bandhuvarman which relates how a guild of silk-weavers, originally settled at Lata, immigrated into the city of Dasapura attracted by the virtue of the king of that place. Here some of them learnt archery, some adopted the religious life, some learnt astrology and astronomy, some poetry, some became ascetics while others adhered to their hereditary profession of silkweaving. This inscription invalidates the notion, too generally entertained that the guilds were stereotyped close corporations of crafts busy only with their own profession and shows that "through the autonomy and freedom accorded to them by the law of the land they became a centre of strength and an abode of liberal culture and progress which made them a power and ornament of the society." 1212

## § 5. MEDICAL EDUCATION.

In the literature of the Hindus there is a system of medicine which is certainly of great antiquity. One of the fourteen ratnas or precious gems which the gods are believed to have produced by churning the ocean was a learned physician. In the Charaka Samhita1313 we find that Brahma taught Daksa the science of medicine; Daksa became the preceptor of the Aswin twins; they in their turn became the teachers of Indra and Indra imparted this knowledge to Bharadwaja who was sent by a conclave of sages to learn the art for the welfare of the human race. Bharadwaja had Punarvasu, Atreya and others as disciples. Ātreya's students were Agnivesa, Bhela, Jatukarna, Pārasara, Hārīta and Ksarapani. Atreya seems to have taught through the traditional method of questions and answers; for each chapter of Harit Samhita, written by his pupil Harit ends with the words "Said by Atreya in answer to Harit". Suśrūta1314 learned the science of medicine from Divodzsa, surnamed Dhanvantari, King of Benares at his Himalayan retreat. According to Suśrūta, 1815 Divodāsa was the incarnation of Dhanvantari, the celebrated physician of the gods in heaven and he was the first to propound the art of healing in this world.

<sup>2812</sup> Fleet—Gupta Inscrptions, No. 18. 2818 I. 1.

Ancient India, second edition, p. 68,

<sup>1814</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1818</sup> Ibid.

Arrian<sup>1816</sup> informs us in his Indica that the study of medicine among the Brahmins was in great favour. Strabo says: "The Indians do not pursue accurate knowlege in any line, except medicine". <sup>1817</sup> Indeed India attracted even foreign scholars in historic times who came to study medicine under Indian teachers. Thus the ministerial family of Barmak under Harun (786-808 A. D.) sent scholars to India to study medicine and pharmacology. Even in later centuries, Moslem scholars sometimes travelled for the same purposes as the emissary of the Barmak, e. g, Almuwaffak, not long before Alberuni's time. <sup>1818</sup>

That there was a proper provision for the training of a physician will be evident from the following description of a doctor who is thought fit for service in a hospital, preserved in the Nandi Purana: "The doctor should be well-versed in the religious treatises, experienced, familiar with the actions of medicines, a discriminator of the colour of the roots of the herbals and well-acquainted with the proper season of raising them from the ground, well-trained with the qualities of the juices, (their strength and actions), sali rice, meat and medicaments, trained in compounding medicines, one who knows well of the physique of men by intelligence, one who knows the temperament and the qualities of the dict, a pathologist who is not idle, well-acquainted with the remedial agents for the premonitary signs and sequelæ of disease, proficient in the requirements of time and place, well-read in the medical text-books—the Ayurveda with its eight divisions and an expert in curing diseases by domestic remedies (prepared from handful of common ingredients) ".

Such medical education was imparted to students in important centres of learning like Taxila and Nālandā even in historic times. Jīvaka, surnamed Komarabhachcha, who was famous for his special proficiency in the treatment of children's diseases was brought up by Prince Abhaya, son of King Bimbisāra and sent by him to Taxila for medical studies.

<sup>1816</sup> Indica, C. 27.

<sup>1818</sup> Alberuni—An Enquiry into India (Sachau's Eng. Trans.), pp. XXXI,-XXXII.

<sup>1817</sup> McCrindle: Megasthenes and Arrian, Frag. 25.

He studied medicine there under the great rsi professor Atreya. In the Mahavagga1819 we are told that after seven years' study he had to undergo an examination in which he was asked to describe the medicinal use of all the vegetables, plants, creepers, grass, roots etc., that could be found within a radius of fifteen miles round the city of Taxila. Jivaka examined them for four days and then "submitted the results informing his professor that there was hardly a single plant which did not possess some medicinal property. 1320

Thus the study of Medicine at Taxila seems to have had both a theoretical and a practical course. The practical course included a first hand study of plants to find out their medicinal values as shown in the above account of Jivaka's education. We may also refer in this connection to the successful surgical operations executed by Jivaka as soon as he left Taxila on finishing his education, for, they show that he must have had a previous practical training in such difficult operations. According to Hiuen Tsang1321 the famous monastic university of Nalanda also made provision for the teaching of medicine.

In the Mahavagga (VIII. 26, 6 and 8) we find the qualities of a good nurse thus described: "There are five qualities, O bhiksus which, when one who waits upon the sick has, he is competent to the taskwhen he is capable of prescribing medicines; when he does know what (diet) is good and what is not good for the patient, serving what is good and not serving what is not good for him: when he does wait upon the sick out of love, and not out of greed; when he does not revolt from removing evacuation, saliva or vomit; when he is capable of teaching, inciting, arousing and gladdening the patient with religious discourses. These are the five qualities, O bhiksus, which, when one who waits upon the sick has, he is competent to the task." That provision was made for the training of such nurses will be evident from the following description of the staff of a hospital, found in Charaka Samhitā (I. XV):-"The staff should consist of servants and companions. The servants should be good, virtuous, pure, fond, clever, generous, well-trained in

<sup>1319</sup> VIII. 3.

<sup>1390</sup> Universities in Ancient India-S. C. Das 1881 Beal-Life of Hiuen Tsang, p. 112. in the Hindusthan Review, March, 1906.

nursing, skilful in works, able to cook rice and curries well, competent to administer a bath, expert masseur, trained in raising and removing a patient, dexterous in making or cleaning beds, practised in the art of compounding medicines, and willing workers not likely to show displeasure to any order."

A word with regard to the Veterinary science. We have a book on Hasti-Ayuryeda, dealing with the treatment of elephants written by Palakapya who was a veterinary surgeon in the court of Romapada, King of Anga. In the Mahabharata we find references to Gajasütra, Aśwasūtra, works on elephants and horses. In the Mahabharata 1392 Sahadeva is described to have stayed with King Virata as a cowherd and he is made to speak of his scientific knowledge of all cattle and of the cure of their diseases. Nakula became the manager of the horses at the same court and was an expert in the Veterinary science 1898 on which he has written several works, his "Aśwa-chikitsa" being still extant. 1324 Kautilya also refers to elephant-doctors 1325 and says: "Elephant-doctors shall apply necessary medicines to elephants which, while making a journey happen to suffer from disease, over-work, rut or old age."1326 He also refers to Veterinary surgeons 1327 and says: "Veterinary surgeons shall apply requisite remedies against undue growth or diminution in the body of horses and also change the diet of horses according to changes in the seasons."1828 We learn from Edict No. II of Aśoka that he established throughout his own Empire and the frontier kingdoms hospitals for the treatment of men and beasts alike. On the Veterinary science there are the works of Yogamanjari of Vardhamana, Aswavaidyaka of Dipānkara Aśwayurveda of Gana. A Brahmin Salotor by name wrote a book on the Veterinary art in Sanskrit which was translated into Persian under the title of "Kurrat-ul-mulk" by order of Ghays-ud-din Muhammad

<sup>1892</sup> Birātaparva, 3rd adhyāya.

Thakore Saheb of Gondal—The History of Aryan Medical Science, p. 188.

<sup>1827</sup> Ibid., pp. 52, 166.

<sup>1898</sup> Ibid., 3rd and 12th adhyaya.

<sup>1825</sup> Arthaśāstra (R. Syāmaśāstrī's Eng. Trans.), pp. 56, 169, 173.

<sup>1816</sup> Ibid., p. 174.

<sup>1886</sup> Ibid., p. 168,

Shah Khilji in 783 A. H. (i.e., 1381 A. D.). The book is divided into eleven chapters and thirty sections. It is curious that without any allusion to this work, another work on the Veterinary art styled Salotari and said to comprise in the sanskrit original 16,000 ślokas, was translated in the reign of Shahjahan by Sayyid Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firoz Zung who found it among some other sanskrit books which during his expedition against Mewar, in the reign of Jahangir, had been plundered from Amar Sing, Rāṇī of Chitor. It is divided into twelve chapters and is more than double the size of the other.

Kautilva<sup>1830</sup> refers to men "possessed of the knowledge of the and plants" (krsitantra-gulmavrkmedical treatment of trees sayurvedjūah). He even refers to men "trained in such sciences." 1831 There is a chapter on Vrksayurveda in the Agni Purana. 1889 Kāmandaka in his Nitisāra<sup>1883</sup> also refers to Vrksāyurveda. on Vrksayurveda in the Brhatsamhita.1384 is also one chapter Bhattapala in his commentary on this chapter refers to three other authorities on Vrksāyurvela-Kāsyapa, Parāsara and Professor Winternitz<sup>1335</sup> contends that these references indicate the existence of a rich literature on the subject, proving thereby the later origin of the Arthasastra. The conclusion may be tempting but the evidences before us do not enable us to speak with certainty whether treatises actually existed, because a great part of the technical knowledge might have been in a floating state simply handed down from the experts to their pupils.

There are passages in Charaka and Suśrūta Samhitas and in Bhabaprakaśa which prove the importance of the study of plants in all their aspects to the would-be physician. Hence the student of medicine

of the work on the same subject, which had been previously transla-

ted from the Sanskrit into Arabic at Bagdad under the name of Kitab-ul-Baitarat (Elliot's Histo-

Kitab-ul-Baitarat (Elliot's Historians of India, Part I., pp. 268, 264,

<sup>1880</sup> Arthaśāstra (R. Syāmaśāstri's Eng. Trans), p. 142.

<sup>1881</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1882</sup> Ch. 283.

<sup>1358 12</sup>th sarga, 61., 17.

<sup>1864</sup> Ch. 54.

<sup>1888 &</sup>quot;Kautillya Arthasastra"—Prof.

Winternite in the Calcutta Review, April, 1924.

was enjoined to learn of the plants from those who were likely to know them—those who lived in the forests or were in some way concerned with them. Thus we are told:

"Ouşadhīrnāmarupāvyam jānantehyajapā bane Abipāśchaba gopāścha ye chānye banabāsinah—Charaka.

"Gopālāstāpasābyādhā ye chānye banachāriņaḥ Mūlahārascha ye tevyo vesajabyektirisyti—Šusrūta.

"Āvīra gopāla pulindatāpasāḥ Pānthastathānyepi cha banyapāragāḥ Parīkṣya tevyo bibidhauṣdhāvidhā Rasādi lakṣyāṇi tataḥ prayojayet—Bhāvaprakāśa.

The seeker after knowledge is to learn from the shepherd, cowherd, goat-herd, fowler, the devotee and hermit in the forest, those living in or having any connection with jungles. He should learn of the plant from them, examine it and after due enquiry accept the identification (of the plant) as valid. The fact that these men were likely to talk in Prakrt or in different dialects need not frighten him: that would not deter him in his progess; as we find—

"Prāyo janāḥ santi banecharāsto
Gopādayah prākṛtanāmaḥ saṃgñāḥ
Prayogānarthā bachana prabṛittir
Yasmāt tataḥ prākṛitamityadoṣaḥ"
— Dhanwantari Nighantu.

# Again-

"Ekantu nama prathitam bahunam ekasya namani tatha bahuni

Drabyasya jatyakritibarnabiryarasapravabadirgunairbhabanti

Bahunyatah prakrtasamskrtani namani bijnaya bahumscha prstwa

Drstwa cha samsprshya cha jatilinge badyadvisaga vesajamadarena."

-Dhanwantari Nighantu.

These may excite laughter in modern people - considering that the knowledge one may expect to learn therefrom must be of a very crude otherwise. But a little reflection would point nature indeed. Dr. George Watt has remarked in his invaluable book "The Dictionary of the Economic products of India: "There are, for example, numerous forms of Dhatura known to the native expert that would be utterly unrecognisable in the herbariums, like the form of Aconitum Napullas, some of these are poisonous and others comparatively innocuous. The shepherd will dig up and cat one form of Aconite but eschew another, recognising it as a violent poison. But to the Botanist they are This same knowledge is prevalent regarding the undistinguishable. form of Dhatura. That we should longer remain entirely ignorant of these facts is doubly to be regretted since we are alike unable to check criminal abuse and to take full advantage of the meritorious forms." It is no wonder, therefore, to find that the student is enjoined to go to the Himalayas 1836 and the Vindhyas in search of plants. Thus we read in Charaka and Sarangadhara:

- " Ouşadhinam parabhūmirhimabāna śailasattamah"—Charaka.
- "Ägnaya biñdhyaśailādya raumyo Himagirirmataḥ Atastadauşadhanisyuranurupani hetuvih"—Sarangadhara.

### We have also-

- "Jivakarsavakau jňeyau Himādriśikharodbhabau"
  - —Bhavaprakasa.
- " Mahamedavidah kando morangadau prajayati"
  - -Bhābaprakāśa.
- "Amlabetaşah chotdese prasiddhah"-Rajanighantu.

Passages like these describe at once the place of the study of Botany in the scheme of Hindu medical education as well as indicate the vast laboratory of the Indian continent which the student had to use for observation, experiment and collection of specimen.

<sup>2336</sup> Compare: "He who thinks of the Himalsyas though he should not see him, is greater than he who performs all worship in Kāśi "—Skandhapurāņa.

### CHAPTER IX.

### FEMALE EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA.

Scholars hold widely divergent views about female education in Ancient India. In the Rgveda<sup>1337</sup> Indra himself has said: "The mind of woman brooks no discipline, her intellect hath little weight. But there are passages in the Samhitz portion of the Vedas which refer to female education. Thus we read:

"Adhenabo dhunayamtımisiswih sabardudhāh sasaya apradugdhāh

Nabyā nabyā yubatayo bhabantirmmahaddebānāmsuratwamekam "1888" An unmarried young learned daughter should be married to a learned bridegroom. Never think of giving in marriage a daughter of very young age."

"Upayamgrhitosyadityevyastwa

Visnuragayaisate somastam raksyaswa ma twadayan."1889

"A young daughter who has observed brahmacharya (i. e., finished her studies) should be married to a bridegroom who like her is learned."

"Brahmacharyena tapasā rājā rāstram birakṣati Āchāryo brahmacharyena brahmachārin michchate Brahmacharyena kanyāyubānam bindyate patim." 1840

"A king by observing brahmacharya (the vow of study) can protect his kingdom easily. An acharya can impart education to his students if he has himself observed his brahmacharya (vow of studies). A young daughter after the observance of brahmacharya (vow of studies) should be married to a young man".

We shall now adduce evidences which go to show that women in those early days enjoyed the right to utter the sacred mantras. Thus in the Aśwalzyana Śrautasūtra (I. 11) we are told:

"Imam mantram patni pathet Vedam patnai pradaya bachayet".

<sup>1887</sup> VIII. 34, 17.

<sup>1888</sup> Rgveds III. 5. 55. 16.

<sup>1889</sup> Yajurveda VIII, 1.

<sup>2840</sup> Atharvayeda XII, 3. 17, 18.

"The wife (of the sacrificer) should recite in a sacrifice this mantra. Placing the Veda in the hand of the wife, have this mantra recited by her." Again—

"Patnyā api mantrapāthobhabatyebetyādi"

# In Aśwalayana we find-

"Agnaye swaheti sayam juhuyat
Suryaya swaheti pratastusnim dwitiye ubhayatra".

Govila Grhyasutra is quite explicit on the right of women to perform the Agnihotra with Vedic mantras:—

"Kamam grhyegnau patnijuhutat pratarhomau Grhapatnigrhya eşognirbhabatiti." 1341

# Again-

"Dhrubamasi dhrubaham patikulo bhuyasamamusyasabitipatinama grahiyadatmanascha" 1848

"The wife should utter the mantra 'Dhrubaha' and then pray to God for ability to live in her husband's house in safety and steadfastness and then utter her own name as well as that of her husband."

In Pāraskara Grhyasūtra we are told:

"Striyopi mantrena tamaruhya"

"After reciting the mantra the wife should seat herself on the seat."

We are further told in the Samkhayana Sütra-

"Ghṛtabantam kutāyinam rayaspoyam sahasrinam Vedo dadhātu bājinam, iti vedepatnīm bāchayati"

"The women-folk should mutter mantras beginning with Ghrtabantam etc.".

<sup>1841</sup> Govil Gibyasutra I. 3.

## Again-

"Patnī pannejanīrgṛṇhāti pratyantiṣṭyantībasubhyo rudrevya āditevya iti." 1848

"Facing the Western direction while standing with a potful of water in her hand for sacrificial purpose, the wife should utter the mantra "basuvyo rudrevya etc.".

# Again-

"Savitrī prasūta daibya apa undantu tanuḥ dīrghāyus twayarbachas iti." 1844

"At the time of the boy's chūḍākaraṇa, the mother should utter the mantra mentioned above".

Jaiminī in his Pūrva Mīmāmsā1845 says:

"Tasyā yābaduktamāsīrbrahmacharyamatulyatwat."

"Women like men can bless with Vedic mantras and observe brahmacharya (the vow of study)." In Latyayana Srautasütra 1846 we are told that even the maidservants should utter "idam madhu etc.".

# Again-

"Gṛhapaterdāsyonabānudaharaṇān pūrayitwā pradakṣiṇam mārjāliyaṃ Parīṣurhaimahā idaṃ madhwidammadhwiti badantyaḥ pañchābarāddhyāḥ pañchasataṃ parārddhyāḥ pañchbiṃśatiḥ sāmprataḥ".

Now it may be argued that the utterance of the mantras need not necessarily mean the regular study of the sacred texts. But in the commentary on Govila Grihyasutra I. 3. we are told—

"Patnīmadhyapayet kasmāt patnījuhuyaditi bachanat, nahi khalwanadhītya śaknoti patnī hotumiti".

"The female-folk should be taught, for without such studies the cannot perform Agnihotra".

<sup>1848</sup> Apastamva Srautasūtra XII. 5. 12. 1844 Pāraskara Gihyasūtra IX. 2;haryā iti? 1848 VI. 1. 24. 1846 XVIII. 4. 3.

Again in Govila Gṛḥyasūtra<sup>1847</sup> we find: "Yachchāmnāyo bidagdhyāt".
"The woman should read me (Veda)".

In Latyayana sutra<sup>1848</sup> we are told: "Patni cha". "The wife also (should sing the Sama Veda).

That women used to read Mīmaṃsā philosophy and even to teach others is evident from Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya where after the sūtra "Anupasarjanāt" we read—

"Kasakṛtsnena prokta mīmamsakasakṛtsnī.

Kāsakṛtsnīm mīmamsāmadhītesau Kāsakṛtsnā brāhmani".

"The Brahmin female who had studied the mimamsa-sastra written by the sage Kasakṛtsna is called Kasakṛtsna".

Again it is written in the Vartika after Krdanta (iguścha)—

"Striyamapadana upasamkhyanam

Upetyadhiyatesyah sa upadhyayi".

"The woman going near whom one reads is called Upadhyayi.

There were also women or girl-students, Kathi and Bahvrchi being known by the different śākhās. 1849

Moreover, the adhikaranas (aphorisms) of Jaimini in his Pūrva Mimāṃsā<sup>1350</sup> which turns on the text "Darśapūrṇamāsyābhyām swargakāmo yajeta" when read in the light of the comments of Sabara Swāmī lead to the broad conclusion that in respect of rights to perform one of the Vedic commands, women are on a level with men. The way in which this commentary on the adhikaraṇa is described by Sabara Swāmī (in his Jaiminī's Mīmāṃsā-darśan) and by Mādhabāchārya (in his Jaiminī's Nyāya-mālā-vistāra) shows that the text of the Vedas "Iwargakāmo yajeta" is a typical command, so that all rights which etc.".

<sup>----- 6.</sup> 

<sup>1848</sup> IV. 6.

<sup>1841</sup> Govern IV. 1, 48, 63,

<sup>2850</sup> Ch. IV. Pada I, adhikarapa III.

men have under the Vedic law are in Jaimini's view equally shared by women. Sabara Swāmī in his commentary, has headed the third adhikaraṇa of Chapter I of Jaimini's Mimānsā Darśan as "the adhikaraṇa that deals with the equal rights of men and women in the performance of sacrifices etc." The word 'etcetra' lends corroboration to the view that the right of men and women were equal in respect of all commands contained in the Vedas. Pārtha Sārathi Miśra in his Sāstradīpikā takes the same view. Mādhabāchārya in his Nyāya-mālāvistāra 1851 says:—"Asyaibādhikaraṇasyānusareṇa aṣtabarṣam brāhmaṇamupanī yata tamadhyāpayīta ityachāpi striyāpyadhikārah." Thus according to Mādhavāchārya, a girl of the twice-born classes has as much right to be initiated at the age of eight years as boys of the same age and is entitled equally with them to study the Vedas.

The text of Yama quoted below shows that in very early times maidens used to tie the sacred cord (sign of initiation) to study the Vedas and to recite the Savitri, the most sacred of prayers:

"Purākalpe kumārīņā mounjibandhanamişyte
Adhyāpanam cha vedānām sāvitrī badanam tathā." 1852

There was a similar initiation for girls in the Vedic age. The reference to the sacred vesture or triple thread of Saraswati bears clear evidence to this effect. The girdle tied round the boys' waist at the initiation has its counterpart in the girdle tied round the wife's waist at sacrifices which represents her upanayanam according to the Brāhmaṇas. 1858 It may be noted in this connection that among the Parsis who are descended from the same Aryan stock as the Hindus the custom of tying thread both by men and women prevails.

Hārīt, one of the earliest of sages, describes that all the four stages of life including that of studentship were open to women and that both the sexes had a right to utter the mantras (Vedic texts). 1854

<sup>1881</sup> Bombay edition, p. 335.

<sup>1352</sup> Yams quoted by Parasara Madhavya.

<sup>1868</sup> Taitt. Brah., III. 3, 2, 37.

<sup>1854 &</sup>quot;Dwibidhā stīyo brahmabādiņyaḥ sadyobadhwaśoha Tantra brahmabīdinīnāmunayana monñjibandhanam vedādbyayanam swagṭhe vikṣācharyā iṭi " Hārītabachanam.

Katyayana Samhita<sup>1855</sup> says: "If it (the rite of serving the sacred Fire) cannot be performed by one, they (i. e., the wives) should, either according to seniority or ability, severally or jointly, perform the rite, according to their own light and knowledge of the scriptures." Daksa Samhita<sup>1856</sup> says: "The household of men has the wife for its root, if she follows the Vedas."

In Hemādri we read—

"Kumārim sikṣayet vidyām dharmanītau nibisayet Dwayoḥ kalyāṇadā proktā yā vidyāmadhigachchati Tato barāya biduṣī kanyā deyāḥ manīṣiviḥ Eṣa sanātanaḥ panthā ṛṣiviḥ parigīyate Ajūatapatimaryyādāmjūatapatisebanām Nodwāhayet pitā bālāmajūatadharmasāsanām."

"The girl should be taught Vidya and Dharmaniti. The girl who is endowed with learning brings good to the family of her father and of her husband. The parents should give a fit daughter in marriage to an educated bridegroom—this is the opinion of the sages. So long as the girl is ignorant of patimaryyada, patasebana and dharma-śasana, so long her father should not give her in marriage."

Again in the Mahanirvanatantra-

"Kanyapyeba palaniya siksaniyatiyatnatah."

"The daughter also should be properly educated and taken care of."

As a matter of fact we find that some of the hymns of the Rgveda were originally given through women; through their mouths the sacred mantras were spoken which in later times their daughters were not allowed to study or repeat. Viśwavārā, a lady of great learning, composed the rk in the 5th mandala fourth asthaka 28th sūkta of the Rgveda. Lopemudrā was the author of the rk in the first mandala second astaka fourth adhyāya one hundred and seventy-nineth sūkta of the Rgveda. Apalā was the author of the rk in the eighth mandala, sixth astaka.

sixth adhyāya, ninety-first sūkta of the Rgveda. Sāswatī was the author of the rk in the seventh mandala, seventh adhyāya, twenty-fourth sūkta of the Rgveda. Ghoṣā, Ātrieyī and Paulāmī were also authors of mantras and rose to the rank of rṣis. Godhā, Brajāyā, Juhu and Deyaśunī also rose to the rank of rṣis.

Two very interesting incidents described in the Brhadaranyaka Upanisad may be referred to in this connection. The great king Janaka of Videha once performed a sacrifice, at which the most learned Brahmins, including those from Kuru and Pānchāla countries, were present. Janaka wished to know which of those brahmanas was the best read. So he enclosed a thousand cows and ten padas of gold were fastened to each pair of horns. And then Janaka spoke to the assembled brahmanas: "Let the wisest among you drive away these cows." Yājñabalkya, the great philosopher, asked his pupil to drive them away. Then the other brahmanas became very angry and one after another, they plied Yājňabālkya with questions. Yājňabālkya silenced them all. One of his interlocutors was the venerable lady Gargi, the daughter of Vachakru. She stood up in the midst of the assembly and held a philosophic discussion with the great Yajñabalkya, till the latter remarked: "O Gargi, do not ask too much, lest thy head should fall off. Thou askest too much about a deity about which we are not to ask too much." Gargi stopped for the moment but some time after , she rose again and began with the proud remark: "Venerable brahmanas, now I shall ask two questions. If he will answer them, none of you, I think will then be able to defeat him in any argument concerning Brahman." The two questions were on Brahman, described as Limitless in Time and Space but in whom exist Time and Space. Yajñabalkya answered these questions.

The second incident is also connected with Yājñabālkya. "Maitreyī" said he, "verily I am going away from this my house into the forest. Let me make a settlement between thee and that Kātyāyanī, my other wife." Maitreyī said: "My lord, if this whole earth full of wealth, belonged to me, tell me should I be immotal by it." "No" replied Yājñabālkya. And Maitreyī said: "What should I do with that

by which I do not become immortal? What my Lord knoweth of immortality, tell that to me." Yajñabalkya replied: "Thou who art truly dear to me, thou speakest dear words. Come, sit down, I will explain it to thee, and mark well what I say." Then followed one of the most abstruce philosophical discussions about the Universal Self. and its relation to the Individual. 1857 These two incidents eloquently testify to the high position, learning and mental equipment of women in ancient India, to which it will be difficult to find a parallel in the history of the world.

From the Kausitaki Brahmana 1858 we learn that an Arvan female Pathyavasti went to the north, studied there and obtained the title of vak i. e., Saraswati. 1859 Two directions given in the Aitareya Upanisad 1860 imply that elderly married ladies were permitted to hear Vedantic discourses. The Upanisads mention several other women as teachers but it is not clear whether they were married. In this connection we may note that women were taught some of the fine arts like dancing and singing which were regarded as accomplishments unfit for men. 1861

Evidences of ladies taking part in advanced Vedic studies are found in stago directions in the Taittiriya Āranyaka 1862 and Aitareya Upanisad 1863 where ladies are directed to leave the hall of learning when some principles of gynecology came to be explained, which are indelicate for the female ear. The introduction of Uma in the Kenopanisad is illustrative of the great regard the poet and sage had for the educative power of woman, even as regards the highest metaphysical truths and their teaching. A kumārī Gandharvagrbītā is quoted as višesavijāa (of excellent intellect) in the Kausitaki 1364 and Aitareya Brahmanas (V. 29). Some of the women-saints are mentioned, e. g., Gargi, Vachaknavi, Vadavā, Pratidheyi, Sulavā and Maitreyi.'1365

<sup>1857</sup> S. B. E. Vol. XV., pp. 108f.

<sup>1858</sup> VII. 6.

<sup>1859</sup> Muir-Original Sanskrit Texts, p. 388.

<sup>1880</sup> II. 1.

<sup>1861</sup> Taitt. Sam., V. 1. 6. 5; Maitra. Sam., III. 7. 3; Sat. Brah., III. 2. 4, 3-6.

<sup>1869</sup> I. 13.

<sup>1808</sup> III.

<sup>1804</sup> II. 9.

<sup>1868</sup> Aév. Gr. elltra III. 4.

In the Ramayana we are told that Kausalya at the proposal of the installation of Rama as Yubaraja offered oblations to the Fire with mantras:—

"Sa kshaumabasana dṛṣṭa nityam brataparayana.

Agnim Yuhotisma tadā mantrabatkṛt mangala." 1866

Similarly when Bālī was going to fight with Sugrīva the former's wife Tārā performed swastyayana with the muttering of mantras. Again we find Tārā, the widow of Bālī while asking Rāma who had killed her husband to kill her also address Rāma thus: "See, husband and wife are both not separate beings, this is proved by woman's right to sacrifice and the evidence of the Vedas." Indeed that Sītā was well-versed in purabṛta and in dharmanīti is evident from her talk with Rāma when she is dissuading the latter from undertaking the task of ridding Daṇḍakāraṇya forest of the Rākṣasas. 1868

In the Mahabharata<sup>1369</sup> we read of Siba, a brahmana lady who was well-versed in the Vedas—

"Atra sarma Siva nama brahmani Vedaparaga."

In the Santiparba<sup>1870</sup> we are told that when on one occasion. King Janaka was intent on embracing sannyāsa, his wife dissuaded him from this resolve after proving to him the superiority of the garhasthya aśrama from the Vedas and the śastras. In the Santiparba<sup>1871</sup> we are also told of one princess sulavā by name, who asked by the king (Janaka) about her identity replied:

"Sāham tasmin kule jātā vartayarsati mādbiddhyo Binītā mokṣadharmeṣu charāmyekāmunibratam."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1866</sup> Ayodhyākānda, 20th adhyāya, śl. 55. <sup>1867</sup> Kişkindhyākānda, 24 sarga.

<sup>1868</sup> Āraņyakānda, 9th sarga. 1869 Banaparva.

<sup>1870 18</sup>th adhyāya. In the Rgveda we have a housewife reminding her husband that the ancient sages did attend to the begetting of progeny and did not consider their spiritual progress hampered thereby. (Rgveda VIII. 31, 9; I. 179, 2; V. 61, 8; V. 78, 4; VII. 76, 3; Taitt. Brah., III. 3. 3.

<sup>321</sup>st adhyaya.

She then delivered to Janaka a learned discourse on Yoga, Samadhi and Moksa. In the Udyogaparba we are told that a woman Badulz by name taught Rajadharma to her son herself.

A brahmana lady Lilavati was the author of the celebrated Algebra which found its way to Europe.

From the Lalita-vistāra we learn that even at the time of Buddha girls had a right to study the śāstras and were taught to read and write. Thus Gautama says: "I shall need the maiden who is accomplished in writing and in composing poetry, who is endowed with good qualities and well-versed in the rules of the śāstras." Another passage may be cited from the same work to show that the education of girls of the highest class not only enabled them to discharge their domestic duties and to take interest in the concerns of life but also dowered them with an attitude of openness to the reception of new ideas. The wife of the Buddha was bold enough to put the question: "So long as my behaviour, my qualities, my prudence remain undisturbed, why need I a veil to cover my face with?" 1378 It must be concluded therefore that the girl of this period was no domestic drudge and had her individuality and free opinions within limits.

In course of time the right of initiation and the right to study the Vedas or sacred literature generally were denied to women. It is impossible to fix decidedly the time when such a retrograde movement commenced. But from the following aphorism of Jaimini it is apparent that a school had in Jaimini's time already sprung up, of which the sage Aitiszyana was the exponent which maintained the view that women were not entitled to perform Vedic sacrifices:—

"Lingabiśesanirdeśāt punyuktamaitiśāyanah"

"As the particular gender is specified it refers to males so says (the sage) Aitisayana." A study of Jaimini's aphorisms on the Vedic text 'swargakamo yajeta', referred to above will not fail to impress even the superficial reader with the forcible and vigorous reasoning with which Jaimini refutes the arguments of the opposite school and claims

<sup>1872</sup> Lalita-vistāra—R. L. Mitra, XII., pp. 199-200.

for women equality with men in respect of personal and proprietory rights. It also appears from the following aphorism of Jaimini that the sage Badarayana supports the view taken by Jaimini:—

"Jatim tu badarayanobiśesat tasmat strayapi pratiyate jatyarthyasyabiśistyatwat."

Badarayana says that any one (whether man or woman) belonging to the three regenerate classes is entitled to perform sacrifices as there is no class distinction in the word (swargakāmo); therefore, woman also is included because the three regenerate classes consist of men and women alike."

It may perhaps be objected that Jaimini was merely fighting for a theory and that when claiming for women equality with men in the performance of Vedic sacrifices and in the study of the Vedas, he was breaking away from the conventional feeling of his time. But the objection loses all force when we turn to the evidences, to which reference has already been made, of the right of women to Vedic study furnished by the Vedas and the Sūtras both of which preceded the Smrtis in point of time.

When we come to the Smrtis we find that the women were thought incompetent to perform sacrifices<sup>1\$7\$</sup> and to read the Vedas as they could not be initiated. Manu,<sup>1\$7\$</sup> for instance, says that initiation of women consisted in their marriage: "The nuptial ceremony is stated to be the Vedic sacrament for women and to be equal to the initiation, serving the husband (equivalent to) residence in the house of the teacher and the household duties the same as the worship of the sacred fires."

Medhātithi and Nārāyaṇa, two of the commentators of Manu, add the gloss that by Vedic sacrament is meant the sacrament having for its object the study of Vedic texts. Kulluka in his commentary him that by prescribing marriage in the place of upanayana, it is im that women must not be initiated. Vijnāneswara in his comm śloka 15 of Yajñabalkyasmṛti] in the chapter on Achara says that initiation for women means marriage. If they could not be initiated, it follows that they could not study the Vedas. In another verse Manu makes the position clear. In Chapter IX. verse 18 the sage says: "For women no sacramental rite is performed with sacred texts; thus the law is settled; women who are destitute of strength and destitute of the knowledge of Vedic texts are impure as falsehood itself, that is a fixed rule." In Jagannatha's opinion, this text indicates the exclusion of women from the study of Vedic texts. There is also a text of Yama which ordains that women are forbiddin to utter Vedic mantras. In his comment on śloka 30, Ch. XIII of Naradasmṛti Asahaya remarks—

"Tathāhi śāstrādhyayanādhikāritwat śāstramatropājivi dharmādharmajūānābhābat swātantryā bartamānatwena puruṣapāratantryā bhābāt tenopadeśasaṃgachcha." 1876

"The reason for dependence is that women have no right to study the śāstras and consequently lack the knowledge to decide between right and wrong between Dharma and Adharma since such knowledge is dependent on the śāstras. We read in the Śrīmat Bhāgabad Purāņa that women in common with the śūdras were declared incompetent to hear the Vedas. This retrograde spirit is also correctly indicated by Megasthenes who came to India in the 4th century B. C. He says: "The brāhmaṇas do not communicate a knowledge of philosophy to their wives." But he admits that some women did pursue philosophy.

It is probably the early foreign invasions of India that may account for this exclusion of women from Vedic studies. In almost every nation of the world in the primitive stages of its development, the early ideas about the inferiority of the female sex prevailed; woman was not regarded as a person, she was not recognised as a citizen. "In fact, she was not a unit but a zero in the sum of human civilisation "1877 text it is very probable that the conquering mlechchas entertained the story probable of Hindusthan who had already attained which J.

<sup>...</sup>Institutes of Narada.

<sup>2872</sup> Lalita-ly Santon-History of Women Suffrage, Vol. III. p. 290.

to a high degree of civilisation came in contact with their first foreign rulers far less civilised than they, they might have adopted those rules concerning the position of women which belonged peculiarly to an imperfect civilisation.

From this time the education of girls came to be entirely domestic and vocational, in the sense that they were being prepared for that which was considered a woman's principal work—the duties of the household. Indeed as the men were devoted more and more exclusively to social duties, to learning or teaching or were plunged in the delights of a dreamland beyond the tomb or the cremation ghat, they had to be freed from worldly worries by their wives. Thus according to Satapatha Brahmana 1378 weaving is the function of women. Weaving is also a domestic occupation for women in the Jatakas. 1879 Among the qualities which, according to Anguttara Nikāya 1880 every woman should be endowed with, we find that she should be skilled in spinning and weaving, must be intelligent enough to do and manage household affairs and must preserve the earnings of her husband. The Dhammapada commentary 1881 tells us that pounding rice and cooking are some of the duties of a household woman. Sukrācharya 1389 says: "The woman should be assistants in the functions of the males, viz., agriculture, shopkeeping etc. The woman should practise music. gentle manners etc., according as the husband is master of these and perform the winning arts etc., with regard to him". Vatsvavana in his Kamasutra 1388 enumerates among others the following duties of married wives : --

"She should arrange to plant in her garden rows of flower plants such as Kubjaka, Āmalaka, Mallikā, Jāti, Kurundaka, Nabamallikā, Tagara, Nandyvarta and other plants. There should also be rows of

<sup>1378</sup> Tadbā etat sīpām karma yada ūrņāsūtram—Sat. Br. XII. 7. 2. 11.

<sup>1879</sup> Jat. VI. 26.

<sup>1380</sup> IV. pp. 268-69.

<sup>1861</sup> III, p. 41.

<sup>1882</sup> Sukranitisāra, Ch. IV. sec. VII.

<sup>1808</sup> Bk. IV. Ch.I.

lines 54-56.

trees such as Balakośiraka, Pataleka and others and the ground should be kept attractive in appearance." 1884

"She should secure the seeds of various medicinal herbs and vegetables such as Mülaka and sow them in time". 1865

"From the curds that remain after their daily consumption, she should extract its essence (butter) as also oil from oilseeds, sugar and jaggary from sugarcane, spinning of thread from out of cotton and weaving cloth with them, the securing of Sikya (a sling for placing vessels suspended from ceilings), of ropes (for drawing water) of strings (for tying cattle), of barks (for making cloth out of them), looking after pounding and grinding (of paddy, rice, etc.,) finding some use for Ichama, munda (scum of boiled rice) tuşa (husk or chaff of grain), kana (broken rice), kuti (bran) and añgāra (charcoal), knowledge (remembering) of wages of servants and their disbursements, the care of cultivactin and welfare of cattle, knowledge of constructing conveyances, looking after sheep, cocks, lavakas, parrots, cuckoos, peacocks, monkeys and deer, the reckoning of daily income and expenditure and making up a total of them all—all these are the duties of a wife". 1886

"Looking after purchases and sales and incomes and expenditures these also should be carefully looked after". 1887

"She should consider the annual income and expenditure accordingly". 1388

"She should excel other women of her rank and birth in cleverness, in her knewledge of arts (sixty-four in number) appearance, art of cooking.....".1889

Manu<sup>1590</sup> says: "They (women) should be employed in looking after the expenses of the household, in maintaining the cleanliness of (their persons and of the house and in looking after the beddings, text ring apparel and household furniture". In another place Manu<sup>1391</sup> the st

which J.bid., 1. 7.

<sup>1379</sup> Lalita-il. 33.

<sup>1388</sup> Ibid., śl. 29.

<sup>2887</sup> Ibid., 41. 85.

<sup>1800</sup> Ibid., 6l. 81. 1801 IX 98.

refers to nursing as contingent on the wife of a man. Kautilya<sup>1892</sup> also refers to the cutting of wool, fibre, cotton, panicle (tulz), hemp and flax and of spinning threads by women of all classes and castes.

The training for all this began in the girl's own home under the supervision of her mother and when she was married and went to live with her husband, it would be continued owing to the Indian custom of the non-separation of the family, by her mother-in-law. The injunction that she should be employed in the collection and expenditure of her husband's wealth would mean that she had some knowledge of accounts, however elementary it may be. But as there was no school for girls and no time was fixed for the commencement of their education (the right to initiation being prohibited now) it is likely that the intellectual side of female education received no special care and was left to circumstances that might be. But although shut out from the study of the Vedas and from performing a sacrifice, apart from her husband, the performance of certain religious duties was specially enjoined for her and in addition to receiving instructions in the rites and ceremonies in which she was expected to take part a woman would become acquainted with something of the vast heap of mythological stories and folk-lore which had been handed down and accumulated in India from ancient times. Indeed, literacy and education did not go hand in hand in the case of Hindu women. Many of them were perhaps illiterate but all were well-educated inspite of that. This was a fact, strange though it may seem to the Western mind, and it was accomplished on the strength of the religious ideal of life and by means of the home as the centre of all activity.

Vātsyāyana in his Kāmasūtra has however preserved for us a liberal scheme of female education. He says:—

"A woman should study Kamasutra before she attains her youth. A married woman should study it with the consent of her husband. The acharyas are, however, of opinion that because a woman is not permitted to study sastras according to the Hindu religious texts and

<sup>1898</sup> Arthesistra (R. Syamasastri's Eng. Trans.), pp. 140-41.

also because she is not fit to receive this kind of learning, there is no need giving here the courses of training which a woman has to undergo."1898

"But Vātsyāyana considers that women should be taught the principles of these śāstras and their practical application. As the teaching of these principles to women requires the study of these śāstras on the part of the teachers the laying down in the Kāmasūtra of the method of training the women, is not out of place. And thus the practical knowledge of Kāmasūtra gained by women is dependent on this šāstra though remotely." 1394

"Such a result is not confined to the Kamasutra only. The fact that a large majority of people secure a knowledge of the principles of various sastras without themselves studying them, is observed in very many other instances. In all parts of the world there are only a few who have studied or are fit to study the sastras. But the principles of them are intended for all people and understood by various means." 1895

"There are however, certain women such as courtesans, princesses and daughters of noblemen who have their intellect sharpened by a direct study of the Sastras 1895

. "For these reasons a woman may learn sastras as well as the application of their principles or either of them from a person in whom she may have confidence." 1397

"A woman should learn in her girlhood, alone in private, the sixty-four kinds of sexual knowledge which can be understood by practice only." 1898

"The teachers of girls are:—(1) a daughter of her nurse who has been brought up with her and had intercourse with man (2) a woman friend who speaks in a frank manner and has likewise had intercourse

<sup>2808</sup> Kamasütra, Bk. I. Ch. III. ils. 2-4.

<sup>1898</sup> Ibid., 1. 6.

<sup>1807</sup> Ibid., 61. 18.

<sup>1894</sup> Ibid., \$1. 5.

<sup>1500</sup> Ibid., 61. 12.

<sup>1898 1</sup>bid., 11. 14.

with man (3) her mother's sister of her own age (4) an elderly woman servant who is trusted and is to-the girl like her mother's sister (5) A nun that previously had sexual intercourse with man and (6) her own elder sister, because of the trust reposed in them by the girl." 1899

"The author enumerates hereunder the 64 kalas or arts.

- 1. Gitam-singing.
- 2. Vādyam—playing on musical instruments.
- 3. Nrtyam-dancing.
- 4. Ālekhyam—painting.
- 5. Visesakachhedyam—cutting of leaves etc., in the form of certain figures to serve as marks on the forehead.
- 6. Tandula Kusumāvalivikāra—arrangement on coloured rice-grains and flowers of different colours, in various forms as an ornamental exhibit at the time of the worship (of a deity etc.).
  - 7. Puspastaranam—covering the floor of a hall or room with flowers.
  - 8. Daśana-vasanangaraga—colouring the teeth, clothes and body.
  - 9. Manibhumikākarma—in certain parts of the house studding the floor with precious stones etc.
- 10. Sayanarachanam—arrangement of bed according to the taste and condition of persons.
- 11. Udakavadyam—playing on water so as to produce a musical sound as if from a drum (jalataranga).
- 12. Udakaghāta—striking (at others) with handfuls of water or by squirting it through some instrument such as a syringe.

- 13. Chitrascha yoga—various kinds of preparations by compounding drugs and other medicinal substances or spells against others (enemies chiefly) to disable or deform them.
- 14. Mālyagradhanavikalpa—stringing flowers into garlands for the purpose of wearing or worshiping (an image etc).
- 15. Sekharāpīdayoga—striking flowers in the form of sekhara or āpīda (two kinds of head-ornaments).
- 16. Nepathyaproyaga—ways of dressing and decorating oneself with flowers or ornaments.
- 17. Karnapatrabhanga—making some kinds of ear-ornaments out of ivory, conch, etc.
- 18. Gandhayukti—preparation of perfumatory articles.
- 19. Bhūṣaṇayojana—making of new ornaments or improving old ones with the insertion of precious stones etc., or the proper way of wearing ornaments.
- 20. Indrajalayoga—producing illusions by playing trickery.
- 21. Kanchumarscha yoga—some preparations out of drugs to increase virility and the strength of the body.
- 22. Hastalaghava—nimbleness of hand by which one is able to do things easily and quickly.
- 23. Vichitraśāka-yusha-bhakṣyakriyā—preparation of varieties of food, vegetables, soups and sweatmeats and other dishes.
- 24. Panakarasaragasavayojanani—preparation of different kinds of drinks including intoxicants.
- 25. Suchivanakarmani—needleworks of various kinds, sewing, etc.

- 26. Sutrakṛḍā—playing with strings of threads. Some tricks by which threads cut or burnt are made to appear as unbroken. Or this may be interpreted like this—some plays in which dolls are made to dance and play by means of threads attached to them from behind.
- 27. Vinādamaruka vādyāni—playing on Vinā and Damaruka (a kind of drum).
- 28. Prahelika—proposing and solving of riddles.
- 29. Pratimala—amusing way of reciting ślokas (verses). One person recites a śloka, another person following with another śloka that begins with the last letter of the previous śloka. This is commonly known as "Antadi"—i. e., the end of the one (śloka) is the beginning of another śloka.
- 30. Durvachaka yogah—participating in reciting ślokas (verses) difficult both in meaning and pronunciation (producing harsh sounds after a laborious pronunciation of words).
- 31. Pustakavachanam—reading in melodious tones standard works such as the Ramāyana and the Mahābhārata.
- Natakakhyayika-darśanam—knowledge of dramas and stories.
- 33. Kabyasamasyāpūraņam<sup>1400</sup>—a quarter or part of a verse (śloka)—the last quarter generally—being given, to compose the other parts of the verse.
- 84. Pattikavetra vanavikalpa—making of different articles of furniture (cots, seats etc.,) from canes and reeds.

<sup>1400</sup> Rejeterangini (IV. 46) refers to samesya (Stein—The Chronicles of Kashmere, Vol. I., p. 124.

- 85. Takṣakarmaṇi—cutting into required shapes, certain materials—wood, metal etc.; making from gold, steel, wood, silver or any other substance, unnatural forms of male organs for using them as substitutes in sexual intercourse (these are called Apadrabyas).
- 36. Taksanam-carpentry.
- 37. Vastuvidya—Engineering specially that part of the science which treats of the ways of constructing dwelling houses, the sites on which they are to be built, the materials to be used and such other matters as sanitation, connected with the subject.
- 38. Rupyaratnaparīkṣā—testing, valuing, etc., of precious stones.
- 39. Dhatuvada—the combination, purification and precipitation of minerals; making valuable metals out of inferior kinds, as gold from iron.
- 40. Manirāgakarajñānam—knowledge of the process of dying crystals and precious stones and of the location and working of the mines.
- 41. Vrksayurveda-knowledge of medicines for plants.
- 42. Meşa-kukkuta-lavaka-yuddhani—training rams, cocks and lavakas (quails or some birds allied to them) to fight.
- 43. Sukasārikapralāpanam—teaching parrots to speak human languages and sending messages through them.
- 44. Utsadane, samvahane, keśamardanecha kauśalam—dexterity in the process of removing dirt from the body, in massaging (rubbing the body) and dressing the hair.
- 45. Akṣaramuṣtikakathanam—finding out some hidden meaning of some groups of letters ingeniously composed to mean various things, as in our "shorthand".

- 46. Mlechitabikalpa—varieties of cypher-languages—some newly coined expressions unintelligible to all except the initiated.
- 47. Desabhasavijnanam—knowledge of the languages of different countries.
- 48. Nimittajñanam—knowledge of good and bad omens.
- 49. Puspaśakatika—making of carts, palanquins, horses, elephants etc., out of flowers.
- 50. Yantramatrika—construction of machines for locomotion, pumping water etc., and of guns and other weapons for war purposes.
- 51. Dhāraṇamatrika—science of memory—memory-training—, so that one is able to make such feats as Satavadhāna (attending to 100 things at the same time and answering to several questions put by many persons simultaneously.
- 52. Sapatyam—a feat in which one person recites a known śloka (verse) and another who does not know the śloka before, has to repeat it along with the former.
- 53. Manasi—another feat in which one is to fill up with appropriate words or phrases, the blanks left in a verse or sentence.
- 54. Kāvyakṛyā—composing poems.
- 55. Abhidhanakoşachhandobijñanam—knowledge of lexicons and metre.
- 56. Kriyākalpa—kāvya, alañkāra and poetry (Poetics and Rhetoric).
- 57. Chhalilakayoga—Some processes of deception or 282. in which voice and person are disguised so as -7.3. be recognised.

- 58. Vastragopanam—covering the private parts of the body with cloth; or wearing a long cloth in such a way that it may look fit or as if it were a short cloth or wearing a torn cloth in such a way that its damaged parts are not seen by others.
- 59. Dyutaviśesa—varieties of gambling.
- 60. Akarsa-krīdā—a particular kind of gambling with dice.
- 61. Bālakrīdanakāni—plays for children with balls and dolls.
- 62. Vainavikanam vidyānam jūānam—knowledge of such arts and sciences by which good manners and obedience are learnt or knowledge of the sciences and arts which educate a person.
- 63. Vaijayikanam vidyānam jūānam—knowledge of such sciences as will bring victory over opponents.
- 64. Vyāyāmikanam vidyānam jāānam—knowledge of such sciences as are connected with the physical exercise and the development of the body.

These are the sixty-four subordinate sciences that form part of the sexual science". 1401

"A woman gifted with these arts will, by these means live even when her husband is on exile or when she is suffering from some great trouble or has become a widow, even if she is living in a foreign country". 1402

From the above it is evident that Vatsyayana's scheme of female education was an ideal one including (1) literary accomplishments ralas Nos. 28, 29, 39, 31, 32, 33, 45, 46, 47, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 62), knowledge of domestic arts (kalas Nos. 10, 25), (8) knowledge of

culinary arts (kalās Nos. 23, 24), (4) knowledge of arts relating to toilet, dress, comforts or luxuries (kalās Nos. 5, 6, 8, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 44, 58), (5) knowledge of manual arts (kalās Nos. 7, 22, 36, 37), (6) knowledge of recreative arts (kalās Nos. 12, 20, 26, 28, 29, 30-33, 42, 43, 45, 49, 52, 53, 57, 59, 60, 61,), (7) knowledge of scientific arts (kalās Nos. 9, 13, 17, 21, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 41, 50), (8) knowledge of music (kalās Nos. 1, 2, 11, 27), (9) knowledge of drama (kalā No. 32), (10) knowledge of etiquette (kalā No. 62), (I1) knowledge of painting (kalā No. 4), and (12) physical exercise (kalās Nos. 3, 63, 64).

It is also evident from Bk. 1. Ch. III. śloka 13 of Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra quoted above that princesses and daughters of some noblemen received a special share of this education in the sixty-four kalās for they "have their intellect sharpened by a direct study of the śāstras." Vātsyāyana refers to another set of sixty-four arts taught by Iānchāla which he has fully described in Bk. II. dealing with samprayogikam or sexual intercourse. Vātsyāyana says: "King's daughter or the daughter of a nobleman well-skilled in these arts will have her husband under her sway even when he has one-thousand wives in his harem." 1405

In the Jaina Kalpasūtra<sup>1404</sup> we find the Arhat Rṣabha saying that during his reign he taught among other subjects the sixty-four accomplishments of ladies (chatuṣṣaṣti-mahilaguṇe).

We have already seen that singing and dancing were regarded as particularly feminine accomplishments and are dubbed as "unmanly" in the later Vedic texts. 1405 In the Rāmāyaṇa 1406 we accordingly find that the hundred daughters of Rājarṣi Kuśanāva, born of the womb of Ghṛtāchi were well-versed in dancing, singing and music. Hemā was also an expert in singing and dancing. 1407 The wives of Rāvaṇa, king of Lañkā (Ceylon) were highly proficient in dancing and singing. 1408 To teach the girls the arts of dancing, singing, music as well as painting there were dancing halls as well as halls of music and painting. The Mahābhārata 1409 refers to a dancing hall

<sup>1408</sup> Ibid., 41, 22,

<sup>1404</sup> Text, p. 74; S. B. E., Vol. XXII. p. 282.

<sup>1405</sup> Taitt. Sam., VI. 1, 6, 5. Compare Tasmāt gāyansīyah pryāh—Maitra. Sam., 1II. 7. 3.

<sup>1406</sup> Balakanda, 32nd sarga.

<sup>1607</sup> Kişkifidhyākānda, 51st sarga.

<sup>1406</sup> Sundarakāņda, 10th sarga.

<sup>1409</sup> Virātaparba, 22nd adhyāya.

(nṛtayaśālā) constructed by king Virāta where his daughters were taught dancing in day time. Vātsyāyana<sup>1410</sup> also refers to music halls. The Mālavikāgnimitra<sup>1411</sup> also refers to halls of music where Mālavikā was taught the arts of dancing, and acting by Gaṇadāsa. The Priyadarśikā and the Ratnābalī also refer to Chitraśālā and Gandharvaśālā. Paes (1537 A. D.) gives a vivid description of the dancing hall of the king of Vijayanagara, where the ladies of his harem were taught dancing.<sup>1412</sup>

Indeed the princesses and daughters of noblemen on account of their ability to pay had in some cases a private tutor to coach them. Draupadi is described as lovely, learned and chaste<sup>1418</sup> and her conversations with Yudhisthir, Kṛṣṇa and Satyabhāmā do credit to the best educated woman. She seems to have been a master in keeping accounts, for, she says to Satyabhāmā that she alone used to keep all the household accounts of King Yudhisthir.<sup>1414</sup> She explicitly says that she has learnt Bṛhaṣpati-nīti from a Brahmin tutor, engaged by her royal father who taught this to her along with her brothers.<sup>1416</sup> We are further told in the Mahābhārata<sup>1416</sup> that Arjuna in the disguise of an eunuch was employed by king Virāta to teach dancing, singing and music to (his daughter) Uttarā, her maids of honour and maidservants. Similarly Mālavikā<sup>1417</sup> and Rajyaśrī, <sup>1418</sup> sister of Harṣa had Gaṇadāsa and Divākaramitra respectively as their tutors.

If we may go by the indications afforded by Indian literature it seems that some girls specially of the ruling class were not behind their [brothers in education. Indian literature does not contain a direct reference to unmarried girls being sent to school but there are many references to educated women. From the Vimānavatthu

<sup>1410</sup> Kāmasūtra, Bk. VII. Ch. I. śl. 15.
1411 M. R. Kale's Eng. Trans., p. 2.

<sup>1412</sup> Sewell-A Forgotten Empire, pp. 288-89.

<sup>1413</sup> Priya cha darsanīyā cha paņditā cha patibratā.

<sup>1414</sup> Mahābhārata, Banaparba, 231st adhyāya.

<sup>12415 1</sup>bid., 32nd adhyāya

<sup>1414</sup> Virātaparba, 11th adhyāya; also 2nd adhyāya.

<sup>1417</sup> Malavikagfiimitra (M. R. Kale's. Eng. Trans.), pp. 2, 4, 5.

<sup>1410</sup> Harsacharita—Cowell and Thomas, p. 258.

commentary1419 we learn that Latz of Szvatthi was learned, wise and intelligent. Among the female authors quoted in Hala's Anthology are Anulaksmi, Madhavi, Reva and Natha. That there was systematic education of girls at home is clear from the Kumarasambhava where Kalidasa tells us that Uma acquired the Vidyas 1420 and from the Meghaduta, where the Yaska's wife is able to compose songs with letters drawn from her husband's name. 1421 In Kalidasa's Avijnana-Sakuntalam we find the heroine penning a love-letter on a lotus-leaf. Such letter-writing by females is also referred to in Vatsyayana's Kāmasūtra. 1422 From Mālavikāgňimitra we learn that Ganadasa taught dancing, acting and allied arts to Malavika. She learnt from Ganadasa the dance called Chalita 1428 and the five-limb dance (or acting consisting of five parts). 1424 When Queen Dhārinī enquired through a maid-servant of Mālavikā's progress, the tutor himself thus speaks of her aptitude: "Let the Queen be informed that Mālavikā is exceedingly clever and intelligent or in short, whatever movement expressive of sentiment is taught by me to her in the way of acting (or dramatic representation), the girl, as it were, teaches me the same in return, by her superior performance of it (i. e., by improving upon it)"1425 The Mālavikāgñimitra also refers to "two girls skilled in arts" specially in music sent as a present from the Vidarbha country to Agnimitra. 1426 'The Raghuvamsam refers to princess Indumati as possessed of endless accomplishments 1427 who after her marriage was taught fine arts by her royal husband Aja. 1428 We are also told in Raghuvamśam that king Agnivarna imparted to the ladies of his harem the principles of the art of gesticulate dancing.1429 Tradition tells us that Kalidasa's wife was herself a great literary personality who had

<sup>1410</sup> Page 131.

<sup>1420</sup> Prapedire praktanajanmavidyāh.

<sup>1421</sup> Madgotāņkam virachitapadam geyamudgātukāmā.

<sup>1432</sup> Bk. V. Ch. IV. sls. 51-52.

<sup>1428</sup> Mālavikāgñimitra (M. R. Kale's Eng. Trans.), p. 2.

<sup>1494</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>1495</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>1496</sup> Ibid., pp. 55, 56.

<sup>1497</sup> Canto VL 37.

<sup>1498</sup> Canto VIII. 67.

<sup>1499</sup> Canto XIX. 36,

vanquished many scholars in open dehates. Tradition also tells us that Kalidass was unable to defeat in a debate the learned queen of the king of Karnāta. We are told by Bana that "Rajyaśri gradually grew up in daily increasing familiarity with friends expert in song, dance, accomplishments."1480 Her etc.. and with all royal brother while engaging Divakaramitra as her tutor says: "I desire that she should remain at my side and be comforted with your righteous discourse and your passionless instruction which produces salutary knowledge and your advice which calms the disposition, and your Buddhist doctrines which drive away worldly passions."1481 According to Hiuen Tsang "of great intelligence she was distinguished for her knowledge of the Sammatiya school doctrine of Buddhism and sitting behind the king was seen to follow with appreciation the learned discourse of Yuan Chwang on Mahayana doctrine."1482 Bana also describes the wives of Samantas coming in thousands to the royal palace at the time of Harsa's birth and keeping the birth-festival merry by dancing.1488 In Harsa's drama Priyadarsika, the king assigns to the queen the task of arranging for the instruction of the maid Privadarsika in dancing, singing and vocal and instrumental music (gita-nrtyavādyālisu). The Ratnābali 1454 represents the heroine Sagarika drawing the portrait of her lover on the picture-board (chitraphalākā) with brush (vartikā) and colours carried in a basket (samudagaka). In Ratnābalī<sup>1488</sup> Susangatā (a maid-servant of Queen Vāsavadattā and a friend of the heroine Sagarika) is also described as taking a pencil and drawing Sagarika in the pretext of Rati in representation.' In the century after Harsa we find that Saraswati, the learned wife of Madana Misra adjudicated in the philosophical discussion between her husband and Sankara. In the Swapnavasabadatta 1486 Vasabadatta is driven to weave the garland for the new Queen's marriage, she being well-versed in this art. (Rajasekhara held very forward and liberal views

<sup>&</sup>quot;1480 Harşacharita-Cowell and Thomas, p. 121.

<sup>1481</sup> Ibid., p. 258.

<sup>1459</sup> Beal-Life of Hinen Tsang, p. 176.

<sup>2488</sup> Ibid., pp. 111-112.

<sup>1484</sup> Act II. 9; also Act II. 16.

<sup>1488</sup> Act. II. 26.

<sup>2424</sup> III, 25.

shout female education. He says1487 that women too may become posteres like men. Accomplishment is intimately connected with the soul but does not depend upon the distinction of the sex. Rajasekhara guotes thrice 1488 in his Kabyamimamsa the opinion of his wife Abanticundari. It would thus appear that she was the authoress of some work on Poetics. The Karpuramanjari was also first put on board at her desire. According to Rajasekhara 1489 in his time daughters of princes and prime ministers, courtesans and wives of jesters were found well-versed in sciences and were poetesses too. Rziaśekhara quoted in Suktimuktabali praises five such poetesses-(1) Silabhattarika who was quite a match for Bana and whose style echoes the sense in Panchala fashion; (2) Vikatanitamba whose verses flowed with milk and honey: (3) Vijayanka of the Karnata country who was Sarasvati incarnate, and an eminent successor to Kalidasa in the Vidarva school of poetry, (4) Prabhudevi of Lata who was full of the graces of rhetoric, and a mistress of all the arts, (5) the dark-complexioned, Vijjikā who described herself as having given the lie direct to Dandin's the description of Goddess of Learning 88 all white. Kathasaritsagara 1440 refers to a queen of Satabahana "who knew grammatical treatises." We are also told of a teacher of dancing named Labdhabara, hailing from Madhyadesa who was appointed by king Harivara as "the instructor in dancing of the ladies of the harem." "He brought (Queen) Anangaprabha so much excellence in dancing that she was an object of admiration even to her rival wives."1441 Another princess Hamsabali of Vidisa gave a demonstration of "her skill in dancing which she had lately been taught" before her father and her tutor Dardura. 1449 We are further told that "king Udayatunga has a daughter named Udayabati, well taught in all the

Puruşabat yoşitopi Kabibhabeyuh. Samakaro hyatmani samabaiti na sraman pauraşam ba bivagamapekşate—Text, p. 53.

<sup>1400</sup> Text, pp. 20, 46 and 57.

<sup>2488</sup> Sruyante disyate cha rajaputryo mahamatraduhitaro ganikah kautuki-varyascha-Text, p. 53.

<sup>1440</sup> Penser, I., p. 69.

<sup>1441</sup> Ibid., IV. p. 156.

<sup>3448</sup> Thid., VI. p. 41.

sciences and he has publicly announced that he will give her to the first brahmana or kehatriya who conquers her in argument. And by her wonderful skill in argument she has silenced all other disputants except Vinitamati to whom she was married. Another princess Gandharvadatta, daughter of Sagaradatta attained supreme skill in music. And the princess has firmly resolved that whoever is so well-skilled in music that he can play on the lyre and sing perfectly in three scales a song in praise of Viṣṇu shall be her husband.

Among the Tantrics there were many learned women. Kalhana in his Rajatarangini 1445 refers to women as preceptors in the Tantric cult. Stein remarks: "The tradition of Kashmerian pandits knows of cases, as alluded to by K., in which women have assumed the position of Tantric gurus." 1446

Buddhism produced a marvellous effect on many women who were moved by the attractive power of the Buddha's Dhamma and renounced the world to lead a pious life in the expectation of a happy rebirth or in order to annihilate rebirth altogether. Ladies of the Sakya family were naturally the earliest women to embrace the hardy life of nuns. The women appear to have enjoyed a greater amount of independence and free thinking among the Sakyas than among the peoples of the plains perhaps owing to the same scarcity of women that forced them to enact a law prohibiting multiple marriages. The change of attitude towards women is, however, apparent in the reluctance of Buddha to admit thom into his religious order. His aunt Mahaprajapati, wished to join the order but was refused three times. She appealed to Ananda who interceded for her and at last the Buddha gave consent at the eloquent persuation of Ananda and rationalism triumphed for the time being.1647 But the Buddha was careful to point out that but for this concession to women now declared eligible for admission into the order

<sup>1448</sup> Ibid., VI. 73-75.

<sup>1444</sup> Ibid., VIII. 28-29.

<sup>1445</sup> VI. 12 (Stein-The Chronicles of Kashmere, Vol. I. 237).

<sup>1446</sup> Stein-The Chronicles of Kashmere, Vol. I. 237 foot-note.

Vinaya Texts, S. B. E., Vol. XX. pt. III., pp. 302 et seq; Compare Monoratha Purăpa, Sinhalese edition, 203,

"the pure religion would have lasted long, the good law would have stood fast for a thousand years; but now it will last only 500 years". 1448 It is no wonder, therefore, that the general tendency of the Buddhist canon law would be to assign a distinctly inferior position to the bhiksuns and to their sampha. 1449

The bhiksunis had to undergo a period of probation for two years during which they would learn the six precepts. After this they would receive upasampada ordination. This ordination, though carried on in the bhiksuni samgha in exactly the same way as that of bhiksus in the bhiksu samgha had to be confirmed by the latter. They had to go twice a month to take instruction from a bhiksu. They must not put any question without taking the bhiksu's permission. 1450 They must not take their seat in the presence of a bhiksu without his permission. They should receive instruction from the bhiksu by turn. 1451 should learn the precepts common to the bhiksus and the bhiksunis and the precepts specially meant for the latter. 1452 Thus did the Buddhist numeries become centres of education and culture, for, those who were admitted as nuns received instruction in the Buddhist doctrines. we do not know whether the nunneries like the monasteries became centres of secular instruction, receiving pupils even from amongst those who were not intending to join the order. In Ceylon there are no such nunneries to-day, though there are a few girl's schools in the nunneries in Burma. Some Buddhist nuns are said to have visited women in their homes at intervals and at such meetings some oral teaching or discussion of religious precepts might have been taken up.

We hear of the intellectual attainments of the Buddhist nuns and some of their literary compositions are still preserved in the famous Therigatha. They are fine lyrics and in the opinion of some critics,

<sup>1448</sup> Mahāparinirvāņa Sutta V. 23.

For the details of the Bhikşuni samgha, see Vinaya Pitaka I. pp. 130, 167; II. pp. 253-55, 257-58; IV. pp. 211, 220-21, 247; Compare Chullavagga X. and the Bhikşuni Pātimokkha.

<sup>1480</sup> Vinaya Pitaka II, pp. 253-55.

<sup>1481</sup> Majjima Nikāya III. 270.

<sup>2488</sup> Vinaya Pitaka II., p. 258.

worthy of being ranked with those of Kalidasa and Amaru. But it has been argued by some that the authorship of the verses in the Theri-gatha cannot be ascribed to the women who sang them. "Be that as it may. there is no gainsaying of the fact, in the absence of any historical truth to the contrary that in the Buddha's days women who broke through the fetters of worldly life and gained the joys of asexual rational beings, sang extempore learned and thoughtful verses on many occasionsspecially when Mara, the Buddhist Satan tried, in vain, his level best to lead astray these saintly sisters sometimes by joyful or lewd temptations and sometimes by frightful sights". 1458 As Dr. Bimala Churn Law has pointed out, the gathas sung by some women and the record of the intellectual attainments of certain individual ladies (mentioned by him) prove that a fairly high standard of literary culture was attained in feminine circles in the days of Gautama Buddha. Sukkā was a great preacher and one day she taught the Buddhist doctrine to the bhiksunis in such a way that everybody listened to her with rapt attention; even the tree-spirit was so much moved that it began to praise her. At this the people were excited, came to the sister and listened to her attentively.1454 The Samvutta Nikava also refers to her power of oratory. It says that she delivered a sermon to a big audience at Rajagrha. A Yakkha being pleased with her declared in the streets of Rajagrha that Sukka was distributing honey and those who were wise should go and drink it. Buddhā Kundalakeśa entered the Order of the Niganthas, learnt their doctrine and left their company. Thereafter she found no one equal in debate to her. But she was defeated by Sariputra who advised her to go to the Buddha for refuge. She went to the Buddha who discerned the maturity of her knowledge. 1455 The Majjhima Nikaya 1456 speaks of Dhammadinna who was asked one day by her husband to explain Sakkayaditthi (belief in one's body to be soul), Sakkaya-nirodha, Ariya-atthangikomaggo. Samkhāras, Nirodhasamāpatti, the manner of rising up from nirodhasamāpatti

<sup>1458</sup> B. C. Law-Women in Buddhist Literature, pp. 61-62.

<sup>1444</sup> Therigithi Commentary, 57-61,

<sup>1444</sup> Ibid., pp. 99f.

and the several kinds of Vedanz. She gave satisfactory explanation to each. She was once questioned by her husband on the Khandas and the like. She answered these questions so correctly that she was praised by the Buddha and was ranked as the foremost among the sisters who could preach.1457 She also mastered the Vinaya well.1458 Sanghamittā, daughter of Asoka1489 was well-versed in the three-fold science. She knew well the magical powers. 1460 She taught Vinaya Pitaka in Anuradhapura in Ceylon and the five collections (of the Sutta Pītaka) and the seven treatises (of the Abhidhamma). 1461 From the Sutta-Nipata 1462 we learn that Khema was vastly learned, eloquent and full of ready wit. When king Pasenadi asked her the reason of Buddha not answering the question whether a being after death is reborn or not, she asked the king whether he had anybody who could count the sands of the Ganges and the drops of water in the sea: the king answered in the negative. Then she said: "If any being is free from attainment to five khandhas, it becomes immeasureable and fathomless like a sea. Hence rebirth of such a being is beyond conception". Uttarā like Sanghamittz was well-versed in the three-fold science and like her she, Malla, Pabbata Pheggu, Dhammadasi, Pasadapala and Aggimitta taught in Anuradhapura the Vinaya Pitaka, five collections of the Sutta Pitaka and the seven treatises of the Abhidharma.1468 Hemā like Sanghamitta was well-versed in the three-fold science and like her taught the Vinaya Pītaka, the five collections of the Sutta Pītaka. the Abhidharma. 1464 treatises  $\mathbf{of}$ the seven Mahāruhā taught in Anuradhapura the Vinaya Pitaka, five collections of  $\mathbf{the}$ Sutta Pitaka and the seven treatises of the Abhidharma. 1465 Anjali Samuddanāvā taught Vinaya Anurādhapura. 1466 Sumanā, Mahilā, Mahādevi, Padumā and Hemāsā

1448 Dwipabaméa, Sec. XVIII.

Therigāthā Commentary, 15; Compare Monoratha Purāņa, pp. 360-63; Añguttara Nikāya I. 25.

<sup>1448</sup> Dwipabaméa, Sec. XVIII.

<sup>1450</sup> Mahabamsa, p. 101.

<sup>1400</sup> Dwipabamia, Sec. XV.

<sup>1461</sup> Ibid., XVIII.

<sup>1442</sup> IV. pp. 374-80.

<sup>1464</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2468</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1466</sup> Ibid.

also taught the Vinaya Pītaka in Anurādhapura. Kāli was well-versed in the whole of the sacred scriptures and taught the Vinaya Pītaka in Anurādhapura. Aggimittā was well-versed in the three-fold science. Sapattā, Channā, Upāli and Revatī were the highest among the Vinaya-studying nuns. Patācārā was the foremost of the nuns who mastered the Vinaya Pītaka. Pītaka. Uppalavannā, Sobhitā, Isidāsikā, Visākhā, Sabalā, Saṃghadāsī, Nandā, Saddhammanandi, Somā, Giriddhi, Dāsī and Dhammā were also well-versed in the Vinaya. Nanduttarā was versed in Vijjā and Sippa. The Divyāvadāna Nanduttarā was versed in Vijjā and Sippa. Aras The Divyāvadāna Patāra refers to female students reading Buddhavachana at night. Cūlanāgā, Dhannā, Sonā, Mahātissā, Cūla-sumanā and Mahāsumanā were learned and versed in the tradition. Patāra developed the seven Sambojjhangas.

We learn from Kautilya's Arthasastra 1477 that female slaves were taught by teachers "arts such as singing, playing on musical instruments, reading, dancing, acting, writing, painting, playing on the instruments like vinz, pipe and drum, reading the thoughts of others, manufacture of scents and garlands, shampooing and the art of attracting and captivating the mind of others." The Therigatha commentary 1778 says that Punna or Punnika, the daughter of Anathapindaka's domestic slave obtained Sotapattiphalam after hearing the Sihanada Suttanta. She defeated a Brahmin in argument and was therefore given freedom by her master. The Dhammapada commentary 1278 says that Khujjuttara, a maid-servant of Samabati, Queen of Udena, king of Kośambi used to steal four out of the eight Kahapanas daily given to her for buying flowers. One day she heard the sermon delivered by the Buddha in the house of the garland-

<sup>1467</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1468</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1409</sup> Ibid., sec. XV.

<sup>1470</sup> Ibid., Sec. XVIII.

<sup>1471</sup> Anguttara Nikāya I. 25; Compare Dwipabamsa, sec. XVIII.

<sup>1479</sup> Dwipabamsa, sec. XVIII.

<sup>1478</sup> Therigatha Commentary, p. 87.

<sup>1474</sup> Page 532.

<sup>1475</sup> Dwipabamśa, sec. XVIII.

<sup>1476</sup> Therigatha Commentary, p. 27.

<sup>1477</sup> B. Syamasastri's Eng. Trans., pp. 155-56.

<sup>1678</sup> Pp. 199f.

<sup>1479</sup> I, pp. 208f.

maker where she went to buy flowers and obtained Sotapattiphalam. Since then she discontinued stealing and bought flowers for eight kahapanas. The queen questioned her how she had bought so many flowers for eight kahapanas. The girl confessed her guilt and said that after hearing the Buddha's sermon, she had come to realise that stealing a thing is a sin. The queen asked her to repeat the sermon she had heard. Since then the slave-girl was regarded as a mother and teacher by the queen and her 500 female attendants, who asked her to go to the Master daily to hear the Dhamma and repeat it to them. In course of time she mastered the Tripītaka.

The cultivation of the æsthetic sense in women contributed to the formation of a class of Saubhikās or Sobhānikās which existed as early as the days Patanjali. The expression lenasobhika in the Madhura inscriptions is probably also of similar reference. These inscriptions show that women actually appeared on the stage. 1480 A class of gav women is depicted in the Kāmasūtra<sup>1481</sup> as frequenters of gosthis and ghatas and Bhasa 1489 refers to the gaiety of life among these maidens. From Kautilya's Arthaśāstra<sup>1483</sup> we learn that actresses were taught by teachers "arts such as singing, playing on musical instruments, reading, dancing, acting, writing, painting, playing on the instruments like the vīnā, pipe and drum, reading the thoughts of others, manufacture of scents and garlands, shampooing and the art of attracting and captivating the minds of others." Kautilya also says that the wives of actors and others of similar profession were also taught "various languages and the use of signals (sanja) and that they were employed by the state in detecting the wicked and in murdering or deluding foreign spies. 1484

.In common with the other parts of the world prostitution in India dates from the earliest times; but through the clouds of myth and

<sup>1480</sup> Arch. Survey Rep. for 1903-4, p. 123f.

<sup>1481</sup> Stitra 13.

<sup>1482</sup> Bhasa: Abhimaraka, pp. 69, 861.

<sup>1400</sup> R. Syamasastri's Eng. Trans., pp. 155-56,

<sup>1484</sup> Ibid., p. 156.

mystery which cover the dawn of Indian History any distinction between the secular and the sacred prostitution must be looked upon as little more than conjecture. Secular prostitution is mentioned in the Rgveda<sup>1485</sup> while in the Vzjaseni Samhitā<sup>1486</sup> it seems to be recognised as a profession. In the law-books1487 the prostitute is regarded with disfavour. The Jatakas 1488 refer to dancing girls (nataki) who were accomplished in dancing and music (naccagīta-vāditakuśalā). dancing women employed to keep prince Siddhartha in hilarity were skilful in dancing, singing and in playing on musical instruments.1489 They seem to have lived a more intellectual life than other women: Ambapālī invited the Buddha, Aspasia received Socrates in her house. We are told that Ambapālī was so well-versed in dancing, singing and lute-playing that she charged fifty kahapanas for one night. 1490 Salavati was installed as a courtesan by a merchant of Rajagaha. She was an expert in dancing, singing and lute-playing and her fee was one hundred kahāpaņas for one night.1491

Kautilya<sup>1493</sup> refers to "prostitutes whether or not of a prostitute's family" "noted for their beauty, youth and accomplishments" and lays down that the Superintendent of Prostitutes should employ such women at the king's court on a salary of Rs. 1000 papas per annum. Vatsyayana in describing the qualities to be possessed by a courtesan says that she must possess "a knowledge of Sexual science and its attendant arts<sup>1493</sup> and a taste for arts (sixty-four in number)."<sup>1494</sup> In another passage Vatsyayana<sup>1495</sup> says that she (the prostitute) should seek help from "those that are learning arts (sixty-four in number) from her".

Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index, 1912, I. p. 365; II. p. 480 et seq.; R. Pischel and K. F. Geldner—Vedische Studien, 1881-99, I. pp. 196, 275, 306 et seq.; II. p. 120.

<sup>1466</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1407</sup> Manu IX. 259; IV. 209, 211, 219, 220; V. 90.

<sup>1468</sup> Fausball, Jätaka II. p. 328; V. p. 249.

<sup>1400</sup> Rhys Davids-Buddhist Birth Stories, p. 171.

<sup>1400</sup> Vinaya Texts, Part II. p. 171. 2401 Ibid., p. 172f.

<sup>1405</sup> R. Syāmasāstrie Eng. Trans., p. 153. 1408 Kāmasūtra, Bk. VI. Ch. I. Sl. 14. / 1404 Ibid., Sl. 13.

That they also used to hold discussions on arts is also referred to by Vatsyayana. 14.06 Vatsyayana is more explicit in Bk. I. Ch. III. of his Kāmasūtra regarding the education of prostitutes. After enumerating the 64 kalas which every woman should learn he says—

"There is another set of 64 arts different from the foregoing taught by Pańchāla and these will be shown in the next book—Samprayogika—each in its proper place. For, this section treats of the actual courses of sexual intercourse and the Pańchāla arts are nothing but these acts. A courtesan who has good character, beauty and virtue, will get, on account of her increased worth due to a knowledge of these 64 kalas, the rank of gaṇikā (a more honourable class among veśyās) as well as an honourable place in a gathering of persons. Such a woman will always be rewarded by kings and praised by gifted persons and her connection will be sought by many people. She thus becomes an example to be followed by the women of her class." 1497

Kautilya is no less explicit about the education of prostitutes. According to him prostitutes were taught by teachers "arts such as singing, playing on musical instrument, reading, dancing, acting, writing, painting, playing on the instruments like lute, pipe, drum, reading the thoughts of others, manufacture of scents and garlands. shampooing and the art of attracting and captivating the minds of others" and he says that these teachers are to be "endowed with maintenance by the state." Kautilya also refers to rūpadāsīs who were experts in making garlands, scents and the like. Kautilya further says: "They (the teachers of prostitutes) shall train up the sons of prostitutes to be chief actors (rangopajīvi) on the stage." Vātsyāyana also lays down rules for the education of the daughters of the prostitutes and. Natas. Says he—

"The necessity for initiating her (courtesan's) daughter in love affairs having arisen, the mother should allow her to be trained in these

<sup>1496</sup> Ibid., sl. 25,

<sup>1408</sup> Kautilya's Arthafāstra (R. Syāmafāstri's

Eng. Trans.), p. 155.

<sup>1501</sup> Tbid., p. 156.

<sup>1407</sup> Ibid., Book I. Ch. III, \$1s. 17-21.

<sup>24.99</sup> Ibid., p. 156.

<sup>1500</sup> Ibid., p. 154.

matters by a female friend or by a clever woman-servant of hers. After she (the daughter) has thus gained the knowledge of sexual science and been trained in the different postures in copulation and finding her arrived at the lovely youthful age, she should be proclaimed as a clever lovely girl and thus gain voluptuous youths for her. These are the ways current from ancient times." 1502

"The cases of the daughters of Natas (those men that have as their profession dancing and singing) may similarly be understood. She should be given to the one who would train her up in the arts of dancing and singing." 1508

Kalhana also refers to the education of courtesans. Says he: "Courtesans, the official (kāyastha), the clerk (divira) and the merchants being all deceitful by nature, are (in this respect) superior to a poisoned arrow that they have been trained under a teacher's advice." 1804

Dandin in his Dasakumāracharita narrates the story of a famous dancer, who was also a prostitute who suddenly pretended to feel the desire of becoming a devotee. She accordingly went to an ascetic to carry out her purpose. Soon, however, her mother follows to dissuade her from her intention and addressed the holy man as "Worthy sir,.....as soon as she (this daughter of mine) was old enough I had her carefully instructed in the arts of dancing, acting, playing on musical instruments, singing, painting, preparing perfumes and flowers, in writing and conversation and even to some extent in grammar, logic and philosophy. She was taught to play various games with skill and dexterity, how to dress well and show herself off to the greatest advantage in public......Yet after all the time, trouble and money which I have spent upon her, just when I was beginning to reap the fruit of my labours, the ungrateful girl has fallen in love with a stranger, a young Brahmin without property and wishes to marry him and give up her profession......and because I oppose this marriage she declares that she will renounce the world

<sup>1509</sup> Kamasutra Bk. VII. Ch. I. Sl. 20.

<sup>1503</sup> Thid., Sls. 23-24.

<sup>1504</sup> Stein—The Chronicles of Kashmere, Vol. II. p. 12.

and become a devotee." The Kathasaritsagara 1506 refers to "Rupanika's mother Makaradamstra, who had trained up many courtesans."

The dancing girls who are often attached to temples were generally called Devadāsīs (maid-servants of the god). Kautilya in his Arthaśāstra XXIII. refers to Devadasis. 1507 Bk. II. Ch. Kalhana in Rājatarñginī1508 and Kalidasa in his Meghadūta refers devadāsīs. Asir also refers to 300 females singing dancing at the gate of the temple of Somanath. From the story of Rupanika in Somadeva's Kathasaritsagara 1509 it is quite clear that Rūpanikā combined the professions of a prostitute and a templeservant. The Chinese traveller Chau Ju-kwa in his work, Chu-fan-chi. dealing with the Chinese and Arab trade of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries refers to "four thousand Buddhist temple buildings (in Gujrat) in which live over twenty-thousand dancing girls who sing twice daily while offering food to the Buddha (i. e., the idols) and while offering flowers."1510 He also speaks of similar customs in Marco Polo (about 1290 A. D.) refers to such Cambodia. 1511 dancing-girls attached to temples in the "Province of Maabar" (i. e., Some Tamil inscriptions<sup>1513</sup> refer to such devadāsis. One of these inscriptions shows that in 1004 A.D. the chief temple at Tanjore had four hundred tali-cheri-pendugal or "women of the temple" attached to it. The whole Chola country was full of temples with devadasis in attendance, as is clear from this inscription, which

<sup>1805 &</sup>quot;Anaryan" (F. F. Arbuthnot)—Early Ideas: A group of Hindoo Stories, 1881, p. 76.

<sup>1506</sup> Penzer, Vol. I. p. 140.

<sup>1507</sup> R. Syāmašāstrī's Eng. Trans., p. 140.

<sup>1508</sup> Stein-The Chronicles of Kashmere, Vol. I. p. 148.

<sup>1500</sup> Penzer, Vol. I. p. 139.

<sup>1810</sup> Eng. Trans., by Hirth and Rockhill, 1911, p. 92.

<sup>1511</sup> Ibid., p. 53.

Yule and Cordier—The Book of Marco Polo, 1903, Vol. II. pp. 845-46; G. B. Parks—The Travels of Marco Polo, pp. 279-80,

<sup>1818</sup> E. Hultssch-South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II. part III. pp. 259-303.

gives a long list of the dancing girls who had been transferred to the Tanjavür (Tanjore) temple. After each name details are added showing among others from what temple the girl originally came. Paes also refers to such devadāsis in the temples of Vijayanagar. Travellers like Linschoten (1598), De Bry (1599), Gouvea (1606), Bernier (1660), Thevenot (1661), Fryer (1673), Wheeler (1701), a writer in Letters Edificantes (1702), Orme (1770), Sonnerat (1782) and Moor (1794) also refer to such devadāsis. 1514

This ancient connection of dancing girls with temple worship is nothing peculiar to India. Among the ancient Jews harlotry appears to have been connected with religious worship and to have been not only tolerated but also encouraged. In Egypt, Phonicia, Chaldwa, Cannan, Persia, the worship of Isis, Moloch, Baæl, Astarte, Myletta and other deities consist of the most extravagant social orgies and temples were the centres of vice. It is, needless for our present purpose to speculate about the genesis of this custom. Female artists were possibly introduced in temples more for the performance of certain specified duties, than for the purpose of pandering to the libidinous taste of those who frequent such places of worship. The dancing girl is not necessarily bad, but there is in her life much temptation to do evil and little stimulus to do right and where one may live a blameless life, many others go wrong and drop below the margin of respectability. Thus in time, harlotry came to be regarded as inseparably connected with the vocation of dancing girls and as an essential feature of temple worship.

Coming to our subject proper we find that these devadasis received some training to enable them to perform their work of dancing, reciting and singing. Jayapida of Kashmere in the course of his tour of adventure entered the city of Paundrabardhana and saw dancing and singing (performed there in the temple) in accordance with the precepts of Bharata. One of these dancing girls was Kamala who

<sup>\*\*</sup> Bes Hobson Jobson, Yule and Burnell, under "dancing girl", "devadasi", "bayadere", "nantch girl" and "cunchurree".

<sup>2525</sup> Stein—The Chronicles of Kashmere, Vol. I. p. 160.

Was "versed in (all) arts."1516 A Tamil Inscription1517 dated 1004 A. D. gives the names and shares of the dancing-masters, musicians, singers etc. Abbe J. A. Dubois in his famous Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies says: "Every temple of any importance has in its service a band of eight, twelve or more..... They.....are the only women in India who enjoy the privilege of learning to read, to dance According to Dr. John Shortt<sup>1519</sup> these devadasis and to sino."1518 begin a strenuous three-year course of singing and dancing at the early age of five. According to Mr. N. S. Aiyar in ancient days the devadasis of Travancore who became experts in singing and dancing received the title of Rayar (queen) which appears to have been last conferred in 1847 A. D. According to Syed Siraj Ul Hassan the training of the bogams (the usual term for Telegu dancing girls) is most thorough and complete. Says he: "Commencing their studies at the early age of seven or eight, they are able to perform at twelve or thirteen years of age and continue dancing till they are thirty or forty years old. 1520

That the institutions of both secular and sacred prostitution were utilized by the state as secret service agents is evident from Kautilya's Arthasāstra. According to it women of accomplishments should be employed as spies inside the houses of kings who are inimical, friendly, intermediate, of low rank, neutral and in the houses of the superintendent of such Kings' eighteen Government departments. According to him "women artisans or prostitutes should be employed to convey information to its destined place under the pretext of taking in musical instruments or through cipher-writing (guḍhalekhya)". Thus even women artisans, not to speak of prostitutes, knew the art of reading signs, of cipher-writing and probably that of playing on musical

<sup>1516</sup> Ibid., p. 161.

<sup>1817</sup> E. Hultzsch-South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II. Part III. pp. 259-303.

<sup>1516</sup> Eng. Trans., by Henry K. Beauchamp, 1906, Third Edition, pp. 585-87.

Paper on the Bayadere or Dancing girls of South India, Memoirs read before the Anthropological Society of London, 1867-69, Vol. III. London 1870, pp. 182-94.

<sup>1880</sup> The Tribes and Castes of H. E. H. the Nisam's Dominions, 1920, Vol. I. p. 94.

<sup>1881</sup> R. Syamastetri's Eng. Trans., p. 25.

instruments. It is probably on account of this service obtained from them by the state that Kautilya lays down that the Superintendent of weaving should employ mothers of prostitutes and devādāsīs who have ceased to attend temples on service to cut wool, fibre, cotton, panicle (tūlā), hemp and flax and pay them wages according to the quantity and quality of their work. 1523

It is no less interesting to find that some women had also some knowledge of military arts and sciences. From the hymns of the Reveda we find that non-Aryan girls joined the army in large numbers. In their case some military training may be presumed, as they played their part so well that men of the time did not regard it as easy or ungallant to war with women. 1524 It would appear that some military training was not barred to women as might be inferred from the mention in Patanjali of Saktiki, which means a female spear-bearer 1525 and from the story in the Ramayana of Kaikeyi saving her husband Dasaratha, by fighting against his enemies. Military arts have been enumerated by Vatsyayana in his list of 64 kalas to be learnt by women in general (See kalas Nos. 50 and 63). corroborated by Kautilya who says: "On getting up from the bed, the king shall be received by the troops of women armed with bows." "The Karpūramanjari of Rajašekhara 1528 refers to girls with names ending in keli, Anagakeli, Barkarakeli, Sundarakeli, Rajakeli and Kandarpakell as holding shields and swords and thus guarding the prison of Karpūramanjari. An inscription 1527 of Mihira Bhoja discloses bands of women who gloried in the military profession. Paes 1598 who came to India in 1531 A. D. says: "They also say that each of them (queens of the king of Vijayanagara, has sixty maidens......within, with these maidens, they say there are twelve thousand women; for you must know that there are women who handle sword and shield and others who wrestle and others who blow trumpets and others pipes and other instruments which are different from ours ".

<sup>1828</sup> Ibid., p. 140.

<sup>1534</sup> Rgveda V. 61; 80, 6; VII. 78, 5;

<sup>2888</sup> Pāṇini IV. 1, 48, 63; Patanjali on IV. 1, 15. VIII. 33, 19; 91.

Essa Konow and Lanman's edition, p. 279.

<sup>1888</sup> Sewell—A Forgotten Empire, pp. 248-49.

The above survey makes it clear that the education of girls in Ancient India fitted them for the role they were to play in life as a good housewife, an expert actress or a trained dancing girl attached to temples for religious functions. We have seen that the Vedic girl received a fair share of masculine attention and liberal education. frequent prayers for the concord of husband and wife in the Vedic texts are certain proof that feminine subservience could not be taken for granted and co-operation had to be prayed for. But in course of time the normal woman came to have her girlhood education in which emphasis was laid on her modesty, regard for family life, care of religion, children and the kitchen and on domestic management and husbanding resources. Henceforward we rarely have figures like Vedic Maitreyi's, hidden behind philosophical theories or Buddhist nuns poring over Buddha's words by midnight. It is rarely, too, we have a Vasantasena, the hataera of the Mrchchhakatika, as full of the intensity of life as man, sparkling, scintillating and businesslike. What a contrast is presented to the passing student, by the lady-hymnists of the Vedic period, and their self-conscious sweetness and self-assertion in the Upanisads where women vie with men in intellectual striving and outlook on life; and by the patient Griseldas of the Epic and Sutra periods however intelligent and cultured, whose delight lay not in inroads into the citadels of masculine rights and privileges but in the routine duties of domestic husbandry and the fashioning of future men. Thus the sexes came to regard their functions in life as complementary and not competitive. The queen of the house knew not unwilling childbearing, unwanted babes or the need for the exercise of a modern 'dreadful patience'. Her work was one round of self-denial and social service, the coping-stone of India's structural edifice.

## CHAPTER X.

## THE EDUCATION OF THE PRINCE IN ANCIENT INDIA.

In the Revedic Age the sons of rajanyas undoubtedly shared with the other Aryans the knowledge of the Veda but the incessant struggle with the non-Aryans must have made their education more military in character. There is a passage in the hymns of the Reveda<sup>1529</sup> which refers to military combats among young warriors and as the rajanyas became marked off from other classes of society as those whose function was to fight for their protection, the practice of arms must have become specialised.

But in the Brāhmaṇa period when with the progress of Aryan colonisation in the East, the battle cries were drowned in the peaceful avocations of life, the princes had enough leisure to devote their attention to Vedic studies. In the Atharvaveda<sup>1580</sup> there is a reference to the king guarding his country by brahmacharya, though it lends itself to a different interpretation. To this may be added the evidence of the Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā<sup>1531</sup> in its reference to the rite intended to benefit one, who, although not a brāhmaṇa, had yet studied (vidyām anūcya) but had not acquired fame. More conclusive, however, is the evidence of the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads regarding learned kṣhatriyas and princes who studied the Vedas and attained proficiency in the sacred lore.

Thus among the princes, Janaka, king of Videha had the highest reputation as a master of Brahmavidyā. He had learnt portion of the subject from the various brahmana acharyas viz., Udanka, Barku, Gardabhīvipīta, Satyakāma and Vidagdha Sākalya. We find in the Satapatha Brahmana statuk King Janaka, meets with some travelling brahmanas named Svetaketu Āruņeya, Somasusma Satyayajāi and Yājāabālkya and asks them how they offered the Agnihotra but with

<sup>1829</sup> IV. 42, 5.

<sup>1881</sup> IX. 16.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> XI. 6. 2. 1.

<sup>1550</sup> XV. 5. 17.

<sup>1582</sup> Brhad. Up., IV. 1.

regard to the answer of Yajñabalkya, the king compliments him by saying: "Thou O Yajñabālkya, hast approached very close to the solution of the Agnihotra," pointing out at the same time the incompleteness of his answer in certain respects. The brahmanas then said amongst themselves: "This rajanya has surpassed us in speaking, come let us invite him to a theological discussion". Yājñabālkya however interposed: "We are brahmanas and he a rajanya; if we overcome him, we shall ask ourselves, whom have we overcome? overcome us, men will say a rajanya has overcome But if he brahmanas. Do not follow this course". In the end the Agnihotra was explained by Janaka and on Yājñabalkya offering him a boon, he replied: "Let mine be the privilege of asking questions of thee when I list," thus showing his thirst for knowledge. "Like the traveller furnishing himself with a ship or wagon for a long journey, the king (Janaka) had his mind equipped for the eternal journey of the soul with upanisads or doctrines". His former teachers (mentioned above) had taught him respectively six definitions of Brahman as Speech, Breath, Eye, Ear, Manas and Heart. Yajñabalkya further develops these definitions by pointing out the upanisads or hidden attributes belonging to those six appearances as their supports (ayatana) viz., Prajña, belonging to Vak (for, knowledge is conveyed by speech), Priyam to Prana (for, life always seeks its self-preservation), Satyam to Eye (which conveys truth better than the ear), Anantam to ear, Ananda to Manas (for, thought is the source of Bliss) and Sthiti to Hrdaya (for, in heart rests every thing). At the conclusion of each lesson, the king offered the gift of 1000 cows with big bulls like elephants; but Yajñabalkya each time declined the offer on the ground that, under his father's instruction, a teacher could not accept it before he had completed the teaching of his pupil On another occasion King Janaka leaving his throne approached Yajñabalkya and bowing to him requested instruction. Yajñabalkya hailed the king as one who was self-collected by the study of the Upanisads, worthy of honour like the gods, and yet learned by studying the Vedas and listening to Upanisadic discourses. Therefore to such a competent person he put the most difficult question: "Whither will you go after death?" The question could not be answered by the king and was made the

basis of further abstruce instruction by Yajñabalkya upon a theme which baffles human thought to this day. 1534 The substance of his instruction is that "the soul after death goes nowhere whence it has not been from the very beginning nor does it become other than that which it has always been, one eternal omnipresent Atman."1585 At the conclusion of the instruction, the king was so much moved as to lay at the feet of his preceptor the gift of his entire kingdom with himself as his slave. There is recorded a third occasion on which Janaka received instruction from Yājñabālkya. Here the king first proposes the question: "What serves man for light?" Yajñabalkya explains that, when external light such as Sun, Moon or fire fails, there shines the inner light of his self or Atman. This self is defined as "the spirit behind the organs of the sense which is the essential knowledge and shines within the heart." That spirit at birth assumes a body and becomes united with all evils, but the evils are left behind at death. A person, as Yajñabalkya further explains, consists of desires. As is his desire, so is his will; as is his will, so is the deed; and whatever deed he does, that he will reap. To whatever object a man's own mind is attached, to that he goes strenuously together with his deed; and having obtained the complete consequences of whatever deed he does on earth, he returns again from that world (which is the temporary reward of his deed) to this world of action. But as to the man who does not so desire, who, not desiring, freed from desires, is satisfied in his desires, or desire the Self only, his vital spirit does not depart elsewhere-being Brahman he goes to Brahman. When all desires which once entered his heart are undone, then does the mortal become immortal, then he obtains Brahman, with his body cast off like the slough of a snake. If a man understands the self, thus saying "I am He" what could he wish or desire that he should pine after the body? Knowing this the people of old did not wish for offspring. What shall we do with offspring, they said, we who have this Self and this world of Brahman? At the end of these words, "than which deeper, finer, more noble were never uttered by human lips"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1834</sup> Compare Deussen's candid confession: "Nor have we even to-day any better reply to give" (Philosophy of the Upanişads, p. 90).

<sup>1535</sup> Deussen-Philosophy of the Upanisads; p. 348.

(as remarked by Deussen) the king repeated his precious gift, saying: "Sir, I give you the Videhas and also myself to be together your slaves, 1586

Similarly, we find that king Brhadratha of the Iksvaku race learnt Brahmavidya from the brahmana ascetic Sakayana. 1587 King Janaśruti was at great pains in searching for the brahmana Raikva to learn from him the Brahmavidya. 1538

Again in the Chandogya 1539 we find that Pravahana Jaivali, king of the Panchalas gave evidence of greater knowledge of Sauravidya than Silaka and Dalbhya. Again according to the Brihad. 1540 and Chāndogya<sup>1541</sup> Upanisads the aforesaid king of Panchala silenced Svetaketu Āruņeya and his father and treating them as communicated to them the knowledge of Panchagnividya. 1542

A narrative in the Kausitaki 1548 and the Brhad. 1544 Upanisads relates that once a brāhmaņa youth Gārgya Bālāki came to king Ajātaśatru of Kāśi to speak to him regarding Brahman. What Balaki said did not meet with the King's appreciation. Then the son of Bālāki approached the king with fuel in his hand and said: "Let me attend thee (as thy pupil)."1545 The king replied: "I regard it as an inversion of the proper rule that a kshatriya should initiate a brahmana". 1546 "But" continued he: "Come, I will instruct thee." Then taking him by the hand he departed.

Another learned king was Aśwapati Kaikeya. To Uddalaka Āruni brahmanas named Pracinasala, Satyayajña, Indradyumna, came five Jana and Budila to learn Vaiśwanaravidya. Aruni, diffident as to the fullness of his knowledge of the subject, asked them to go to king Aśwapati Kaikeya with fuel in their hands. The king said: "How is this, venerable

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1556 Brhad. Up., IV. 1-4.
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<sup>2500</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1840</sup> VI. 2. 1f.

<sup>1542</sup> It treats of the paths along which men

depart after death and so forth. 1848 Samitpāņi pratichakrame upāyānit—Kauś. Up., IV. 1. 19.

Pratilomarūpameba brūhmapamupanayeta—Kaus. Up., IV. 1. 19.

<sup>1587</sup> Maitrā. Up., 1f.

<sup>1550</sup> I. Sf.

<sup>1541</sup> V. 3. 1f.

<sup>1548</sup> IV. 1.

<sup>1844</sup> II. 1.

sirs, when ye are learned in the scriptures and sons of men learned in the scriptures?" They said: "Venerable Sir, thou knowest Vaiśvānarā throughly: teach us Him." He said: "I do indeed know Vaiśvānarā throughly: put your fuel on (the fire), ye are become my pupil." 1547

It is no less interesting to find that there were also some royal sages, rajanya-ṛṣis as they are called (in the Pañc. Br. XII. 12. 6.). We may also refer to the tradition preserved in the Nirukta<sup>1548</sup> relating how Devāpi, a king's son became the purchita of his younger brother Santanu. From the Raghuvaṃśam of Kālidāsa we learn that king Kārtyabirya was engaged in metaphysical learning. Similarly, king Brahmaniṣṭha was well-versed in metaphysics. Similarly, king Brahmana<sup>1551</sup> we find a rājanya as a lute-player and singer at the Aśvamedha sacrifice, probably the forerunner of kṣhatriya bards from whom sprang the Epics.

Despite their military character it is quite clear from the Epics that the princes received a liberal education. The educational attainments of the princes mentioned in the Epics would show that they studied Dhanurveda, the lore of elophants 1552 and chariots, 1553 langhana (jumping) and plavana (swimming) and also subjects like the Vedas, Vedāngas, Nītišāstra, Arthabivāga, Vārttā, Dandanīti, Music and Poetry, Lekhya (writing) 1555 and Ālekhya (painting). In the Rāmāyana 1557 we find Rāma asking Bharata whether he studies the three Vidyās (tisravidyāh) where as is apparent Ānvīkṣikī has been dropped from the curriculum of studies as not of much importance to princes. Bhīṣma says to Yudhiṣṭhir that the king should study the Vedas and Rājanīti. 1556 Devarṣī Nārada enquired of king Yudhiṣṭhir whether he is giving military

<sup>1847</sup> Chandogya Up., V. 11; Sat. Brah., X. 6. 11.

<sup>1545</sup> II, 10.

<sup>1550</sup> Canto XVIII. 28.

<sup>1552</sup> Rāmāyapa, Bālakāpda 80, 27f.

<sup>2554</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1866</sup> Thid.

<sup>1448</sup> Mahabharata, Santiparba, 68rd adhyaya.

<sup>1540</sup> Canto VI. 38.

<sup>&</sup>quot; 1881 XIII. 4. 3. 5.

<sup>1555</sup> Thid.

<sup>1865</sup> Thid.

<sup>100, 68,</sup> 

training to the princes through experts in military science. 1559 Bhīsma says to Yudhisthir: "Dharma-(Law) is of four kinds-that laid down by the Vedas, by the Smrtis, by sages and that determined by self-The king should be conversant with all these. examination. king is really proficient in Law who knows it as sanctioned by Tarkasastra, Veda-sastra, Vartta-sastra and Dandanīti". 1560 Professor Hopkins observes: "How are we to interpret this? The science of arms required years of patient study. Is it conceivable that a boy otherwise occupied in physical training should by the age of sixteen be master of the special skill that gave him power on the battle-field and at the same time have found time to commit to memory even one Vedic collection? It is clear that the law is later than the epic on this point; and even there such knowledge is only to be assumed as is desirable for the warrior in general. The active young knight and busy trader must have performed their duties towards the Veda in a very perfunctory way, if at all."

In due course Rāma had his initiation, 1563 observed the vow of celibacy as a student 1563 in the house of his guru 1564 and on finishing his education took the ceremonial bath. 1565 Rāma was endowed with knowledge; he has seen the end of the Vedas and Vedāngas; he

<sup>1550</sup> Ibid., Savaparba, 5th Adhyaya. 1560 Ibid., Santiparba, 132nd adhyaya.

<sup>1561</sup> Bälakända (M. N. Dutt's Eng. Trans.), pp. 51f.

<sup>1562</sup> Ramžyapa, Ayodhyākāpda, 20th sarga. 1565 Ibid., 82nd sarga.

<sup>1564</sup> Ibid., 1st sarga. 1568 Ibid., 1st and 82nd sargas.

was well-versed in Dhanurveda and all the sastras. (Bālakānda, 1st sarga). From childhood he has studied the Vedas, observed the vow of brahmacharya, served his gurus and has thus grown lean and thin. 1586 well educated 1567 and "Learning resides in him." 1568 He is the strongest and most learned of all and is well-versed in the use of weapons and is the repository of penance. 1569 He learnt from Viswamitra two mantras called Bala and Atibala which are the mothers of all learning. 1570 He also learnt from Viśwamitra the use of innumerable weapons. 1571 He used to cultivate the sastras to find out their profound truths, being surrounded by aged and learned sadhus of good conduct during the intervals of the practice of weapons. 1572 "He has returned home after finishing his education in the house of his guru being a master of Vedas and Vedangas. He has mastered the use of all kinds of missils and weapons of magical potency or not........... His teachers are aged Brahmins who have seen the true import of Dharma. He is endowed with genius and memory and proficient in the three Vargas... ...... He has well mastered poetry and philosophy and all those arts that are specially suited for travelling purposes. He is proficient in Arthavivaga. He is a passed master in riding on horses and elephants and in training them. He is an export in constructing phalanx, in marching against the enemy and in killing them. He is an expert charioteer and is the best of all those who are proficient in Dhanurveda."1578 "He has mastered the use of all kinds of missils and weapons that are known to Suras, Asuras and men. He has acquired all learning and knows the Vedas along with their Angas. He is profoundly proficient in music."1574 He is also well-versed in Nitisastra 1575 and in all the sastras. 1576 Reference to military

<sup>1000</sup> Ibid., Ayodhyākānda, 12th sarga.

<sup>1007</sup> Toid., 8th sarga.

<sup>1500</sup> Ibid., Bālakāņda, 21st sarga.

<sup>1571</sup> Ibid., 27th and 28th sargas.

<sup>2578</sup> Ibid., Ayodhyakanda, let carga.

<sup>1878</sup> Ibid., Yuddhakanda, 32nd sarga.

<sup>1508</sup> Tbid., 12th sarga.

<sup>1570</sup> Ibid., 22nd sarga.

<sup>1872</sup> Ibid., Ayodhyākānda, 1st sarga.

<sup>1574</sup> Ibid., 2nd sarga.

<sup>1570</sup> Ibid., 18th and 108th sargue.

tournaments where Rama used to play with other warriors for testing his military skill is also to be found. 1877

Laksmana was also well-versed in all the sastras 1578 and in Niti and in the art of warfare. 1579 He can throw 500 arrows by bending the bow once. 1580 His wielding of arms was extraordinary and without any defect and in the use of arms he displayed fastness, variety and beautiful skill. 1581

Bharata was also well-versed in the three Vedas, Vartta (Economics) and in Polity (Dandaniti). 1582

Yuvarāja Angada of Kiṣkiñdhyā was well-versed in sāma, dāna, bheda and nigraha and in the eight angas of knowledge (viz., śuśrūṣā, śrabaṇa, grahaṇa, dhāraṇa, tarka, bitarka and arthatatvajñāna). He was more skilled in warfare than Bāli. 1588

Ravana's son Indrajit was also skilled in the art of warfare. 1584
He was well-versed in the use of all heavenly weapons 1585 and any one in the three worlds who is not aware of his military prowess and skill in arms is infamous. 1586 Indeed like Laksmana his wielding of arms was extraordinary and without any defect and in the use of arms he displayed fastness, variety and beautiful skill. 1587

Prince Akṣa, another son of Ravaṇa, was also skilled in the art of warfare and was highly proficient in aiming and throwing arrows and in hitting the mark, 1588

"Prince Atikāya, another son of Rāvaṇa, was well-versed in all the śāstras. He was an expert in riding on horses and elephants, in the use of swords, bows and arrows. He was proficient in sāma, dāna, sandhi and bigraha and the whole city of Lankā is without any fear owing to the prowess of his arms." 1589

<sup>1877</sup> Ibid., Ayodhyākānda, 30th sarga.

<sup>1878</sup> Ibid., Uttarakāņda, 58th sarga.

<sup>1879</sup> Ibid., Yuddhakānda, 29th and 88th sargas.

<sup>1880</sup> Tbid., 49th sarge.

<sup>1889</sup> Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 100th sarga.

<sup>1864</sup> Ibid., Yuddhakanda 88th sarga.

<sup>1666</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1500</sup> Ibid., Sundarakānda, 47th sarga.

<sup>1581</sup> Ibid., 88th sarga.

<sup>1888</sup> Ibid., Kişkindbyākānda, 55th sarga.

<sup>1585</sup> Ibid., Sundarakāņķa, 48th sarga.

<sup>1587</sup> Ibid., Yuddhakanda, 88th sarga.

<sup>1560</sup> Ibid., Yuddhakānda, 70th sarga.

Rājarsi Daśaratha was well-versed in the Vedas and the Vedāngas. The contemporary king of Magadha was also well-versed in all the sastras. 1594

Ravana, king of Lanka (Ceylon) also observed the vow of celibacy as a student, resided in the house of his teacher and after finishing his Vedic education, performed the ceremonial bath and leaving the house of his guru became a householder. He has thus seen the end of the Vedas and Vedāngas. 1596

We also find Hanumana, the minister of Sugrīva well-versed in the Vedas, the śāstras, nīti, grammar and the art of war. "Rāma after his first talk with him thus speaks of him to Lakṣmaṇa: 'One who has not mastered Rk, Yajur and Sāma Vedas cannot talk in this way. He must have heard the whole of Vyākaraṇa many times, for, he talked a great deal but no apaśabda fell from his lips....... He did not fail to utter every word in its proper place and made me understand the theme of his talk by uttering words which carried comprehension into my mind.'" 1597 His power of elocution is also referred to elsewhere. 1598

<sup>1 1500</sup> Ibid., Balakanda, 4th sarga.

<sup>1592</sup> XV. 69.

<sup>1504</sup> Ibid., 13th sarga.

<sup>1898</sup> Ibid., Yuddhakāṇḍa, 92nd sarga.

<sup>1807</sup> Ibid., Kişkindbyakanda, 3rd sarga.

<sup>1591</sup> XV. 33.

<sup>1508</sup> Ibid., 6th sargs.

<sup>1506</sup> Ibid., 110th aarga.

<sup>1888</sup> Ibid., 55th sarga.

He was well-versed in the art of warfare and in all the sastras and in this earth nobody can surpass Hanumana in valour, enthusiasm, intelligence, prowess, good conduct and knowledge of Niti, gravity, cleverness and fortitude. When this hero of extraordinary strength reads grammar, he with a view to understand the meaning of the grammatical text, takes the book in hand and facing the Sun moves from Udayagiri to Astāchala. He is exceptionally proficient in Sūtra, Bṛtti, Arthapada, Mahāvāṣya and Saṃgraha. He stands unrivalled in scholarship and in ability to find out the profound truths of the Vedas. He has seen the end of all the sastras. He has surpassed even Bṛhaṣpati, the guru of the Suras in learning and in tapobidhāna ".1601

In the Adi Parbaleon of the Mahabharata we get the following account of the education of the Kauravas and the Pandavas: "Mahatma desire to entrust the proper training in Bhisma expressed the good conduct and education of his grandsons in the hands of an intelligent teacher well-versed in various sastras. He then brought to his palace the Vedic scholar Dronacharya, son of Varadwaja and after according fitting reception, put him in charge of the education of his grandsons. Satisfied with the solicitude of Bhisma for the proper education of the princes he accepted them as his disciples; and with very great care and attention began to teach them with a special emphasis on Dhanurveda. The pupils were all intelligent and within a short time they became proficient in all the sastras and endowed with unbounded valour". "Duryodhana and Bhima who were prone to anger, both practised mace-fighting under Drona's instructions......Nakula and Sahadeva became expert swordsmen. Dharmarāja Yudhisthir became a first class charioteer......and of all the royal pupils Arjuna alone became an unrivalled bowman".1603 Drona himself tested their military skill1604 and then with the permission of Dhṛtarāṣtra arranged for a military tournament where the princes gave a public demonstration

<sup>1800</sup> Ibid., Sundarakāņda, 47th sarga.

<sup>1000</sup> Ibid., Kişkindhyākānda, 55th sarga and Yuddhakānda, 17th sarga.

<sup>1601</sup> Ibid., Uttarakāṇḍa, 36th sarga. \\ \), 1602 130th adhyāya.

<sup>1608</sup> Tbid., 132nd adhyaya. 1504 Ibid., 132nd and 133rd adhyayas.

of their military skill. 1608 It is interesting to find that Drona, the tutor of the princes was a Brahmin. The purpose of the author may have been to exalt the dignity of the brāhmaṇa caste by showing how the kṣhatriyas learnt even military skill from the brāhmaṇas. But we can point out that it is distinctly stated in the Mahābhārata that Drona accepted the employment to have his vengeance on king Drupad who taunted him for his poverty. 1606

The Pandavas studied all the Vedas and the various sastras. 1607 Of them Yudhisthir was versed in the Vedas and the science of war and highly skilled in driving horses and chariots. 1608 Nakula was an expert in fighting with swords 1609 while Arjuna was not only an unrivalled bowman 1610 but was also versed in Dharmarthatatwa and Arthas 1811 Arthas 1811

The upmayana ceremony of the sons of the Pāṇḍavas was performed by Maharri Dhaumya and after finishing the study of the Vedas they learnt Dhaumveda and the use of all the weapons from Arjuna. 1612

The brothers of Draupadi had a Brahmin resident-tutor appointed by their royal father, who taught them Brhaspati-niti. 1618

Blisma was proficient in the use of all kinds of astras<sup>1614</sup> and sastras, <sup>1615</sup> an unrivalled bowman and was equal to Indra as a warrior. <sup>1616</sup> From Vasistha he had learnt all the Vedas and the Vedangas. <sup>1617</sup> He has got by heart all the sastras which Sukrāchārya has read. <sup>1618</sup> He has mastered all the sastras<sup>1619</sup> and knows the true import of Dharma. <sup>1620</sup>

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1606 Ibid., 134th-137th adhyayas.
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<sup>1006</sup> Ibid., 137th adhyaya; also 133rd, 138th and 166th adhyayas.

<sup>1607</sup> Ibid., Anukramaņikādhyāya.

<sup>1609</sup> Ibid., Santiparba, 166th adhyaya.

<sup>1</sup>e11 Ibid., Santiparba 167th adl. jaya.

<sup>2615</sup> Ibid., Banaparba, 32nd adhyaya.

<sup>1618</sup> Ibid., 67th adhyāya.

<sup>2027</sup> Ibid., 100th and 103rd adhyayas.

<sup>1019</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1608</sup> Ibid., Udyogaparba, 28th adhyāya.

<sup>1610</sup> Ibid., Adiparba, 132nd adhyaya.

<sup>1619</sup> Ibid., Adiparba, 221st adhyāya.

<sup>1616</sup> Ibid., Adiparba 100th adhyāya.

Je 16 Ibid., 100th adhyaya,

<sup>1818</sup> Ibid., 100th adhyaya.

<sup>1680</sup> Ibid., 103rd adhyaya.

Dhṛtarāṣtra was proficient in many śāstras<sup>1621</sup> while Bidur was was versed in all the śāstras.<sup>1622</sup> In the Adiparba<sup>1623</sup> we are told that Bhiṣma had Dhṛtarāṣtra, Pāṇḍu and Bidur taught by a competent tutor and made them experts in physical culture. When these princes came of age they became versed in Dhanurveda, mace-fighting, swordsmanship, gajaśikṣā, nītiśāstra, itihāsa, Purāṇas, Vedāngas etc. Of them Pāṇdu became an unrivalled bowman, Dhṛtarāṣtra became famous for his physical strength and Bidur for his piety'.

The king of the Kekayas was proficient in Vedic learning 1624 while Yayāti studied all the Vedas and the Vedangas. 1625 Ambarişa studied the Vedas and Rājanīti. 1626

The Mahābhārata<sup>1627</sup> also refers to a king of the Andhaka family and other princes as pupils of Drona who taught them military science.

The Sakya prince Gautama was taught the three R's under a teacher named Viśwamitra whom according to tradition, he confounds by his knowledge already possessed of various styles of writing. He is next taught by eight other brāhmaņa teachers viz., "Rāma and Dhaja, Laksmana and Manti, Yanna and Suyama, Subhoga and Sudatta" and also the brahmana Sabbamitta of high lineage in the land of Udichcha, a philogist and grammarian, well-read in the six Vedangas, whom Suddhodhana sent for and handed over the boy to his charge to be taught". 1628 From the Antagada Dasao 1629 we learn that when Goyame was past eight years he was sent to a teacher of the arts on an auspicious day... He learnt from him the eighteen vernaculars, delighted in song, music and dance, was able to fight on horse, elephant and chariot and became clever in boxing and night-sallying (nagara-vaccham). Indeed he was not inattentive to physical culture. The legends represent him as skilled in the twelve arts and especially in archery, like Arjuna of old and he proved his superiority to all Sakya youths in open challenge.

<sup>1621</sup> Ibid., Udyogaparba, 29th adhyaya.

<sup>1038 109</sup>th adhyāya.

<sup>1888</sup> Ibid., Adiparba, 81st adhyāya.

<sup>1687</sup> Adiparba, 132nd adhyāya.

<sup>1430</sup> Barnett's Antagada Dasao, p. 81.

<sup>1622</sup> Ibid., Adiparba 206th adhyāya.

<sup>1624</sup> Ibid., Santiparba, 17th adhyaya.

<sup>1020</sup> Ibid., Santiparba, 98th adhyaya.

<sup>1023</sup> Milinda-Panha, IV. 6, 3.

As in the story of Arjuna, the price of his victory was the hand of Yaśodharā, daughter of his cousin, Suprabuddha, to whom he was married at sixteen. One of the beaten youths was another cousin of his, Devadatta, who could never forget this discomfiture and grew up to be the chief enemy of the Buddha in the world.

From the Jaina sūtras 1630 we learn that Mahābīra was proficient in the eighteen scripts corresponding to the eighteen vernacular tongues.

In conformity with the later injunction of Manu<sup>1681</sup> to the effect that the king should learn "from the people the trades and the professions"1682 we find that the practice of a craft was not considered derogatory to the dignity of a prince. The Kuśa Jataka,1638 for instance, mentions a prince who only consents to marry when a princess is found exactly like a golden image which he himself had fashioned and which was far superior to that made by the chief smith employed for the purpose. From the Mahavamsa we find that king Jetthatissa of Ceylon was a "skilful carver and painter who wrought a beautiful image of the Bodhisatwa and also a throne, a parasol, and a state-room with beautiful work in ivory made for it and who himself taught the arts to his subjects". In the story of Jivaka we are told that even in royal families idlers were not tolerated and that it was not easy to eke out one's living without the knowledge of some art. In the Hatigumpha Inscription of Khāravela we read of a prince who claims to have been proficient in lekha, gapana and rupa. In Bana's Harsacharita1684 it is stated how on the occasion of the marriage of a princess "even kings girt up their loins and busied themselves in carrying out decorative work - set as tasks by their sovereign. In Jataka (IV. 84) we are told of a prince who took to trade. According to Kalhana, 1685 Lothana, a prince of the Lohara family maintained himself by agriculture, trade and other means.

<sup>1000</sup> Samavaya Sütra p. 54; Nandi Sütra pp. 376ff.

<sup>1081</sup> VII. 43, 1682 Vārtiāramvāšcha lokatah.

<sup>2030</sup> Jataka No. 531.

assa Eng. Trans., by Cowell and Thomas, p. 124.

<sup>2482</sup> Réjatarangipi VIII. 2482.

Coming to the Dharmasutras and the Dharmasastras we find that according to Gautama 1636 the king shall be fully taught the three-fold sacred science and Anviksiki 1637 In another passage Gautama 1638 "The administration of justice shall be by the Veda, the says: Dharmasastra, 1689 the Angas and the Purana"; so that it may be presumed that the princes were expected to be acquainted with these during their student-life. That the princes used to have their initiation which marked the beginning of their student-life is evident from Manu. 1640 "After his initiation" says Manu, 1641 "let him learn from those well-versed in the three Vedas, the three-fold sacred science, eternal principle of punishment, the science of reasoning, the people the self-knowledge and from the science of principles of trade, agriculture and cattle-rearing and the science of In another passage Manu<sup>1643</sup> says: "Each day wealth ".1642 conformably to the rules of the sastras and usages of the country, he (the king) shall severally adjudicate the eighteen sources of lawsuits"; so that it may be presumed that the king was expected to be acquainted with these in his student-life. Manu<sup>1644</sup> enjoins the prince, however, to refrain from singing, dancing and music, for, by addicting to them he becomes dissociated with virtue and wealth. According to ¡Yājñabālkya Samhitā1645 the king should be well-versed in Logic, Polity and Vartta (the principles of trade, agriculture, cattle-rearing and interest) and Trayi (the triple Vedas). According to Harita Samhita 1646 the king should be proficient in the laws of Polity and well-versed in the true spirit of making peace and dissensions.

<sup>1036</sup> XT. 1.

Dr. Buhler seems to have wrongly translated, the word as logic in S. B. E., Vol. II; for, according to Kautilya's Arthasastra (R. Syamasastri's Eng. Trans.), p. 6) it comprises the philesophy of Sankya, Yoga and Lokayata (atheism.)

<sup>1659</sup> Dr. Buhler considers this word as probably an interpolation, for, it was then included in the Angas as Kalpa.

<sup>2641</sup> VII. 43. 1640 VII. 2.

<sup>1642</sup> The same verse also exists in the Mateya Purana 215. 53 and in the Agni Purane 225. 21-22; see also Gantama Dharmasūtra, XX. 3.

<sup>1044</sup> VII. 46-47. 1548 VII. 3. 2646 II. 4.

<sup>1645</sup> L 811.

In the age represented by Kautilya's Arthaśāstra there seems to have been a considerable development of royal education. The number of authorities whose different opinions Kautilya quotes in his Arthaśāstra and sometimes refutes while discussing the educational programme for princes shows among other things that there was considerable interest as to what was the best kind of education for a young prince to receive. It is not impossible that this development of royal education may have been the result of the desire of some Indian rulers to improve the efficiency of their kingdoms in view of the possibilities of foreign invasions like those of Darius (521 B. C.) and Alexander the Great (327 B. C.). But whether this was so or not, it seems certain that a considerable development of royal education took place in the age of Kautilya and we get a valuable picture of this education in his Arthaśāstra.

In Bk. I. Ch. XVII. of Kautilya's Arthasastra, 1847 entitled 'Protection of Princes' we are told:—

"Ever since the birth of princes, the king shall take special care of them.

"For" says Bharadvāja, "princes like crabs have a notorious tendency of eating up their begetter. When they are wanting in filial affection, they shall better be punished in secret."

"This is" says Viádākṣa, "cruelty, destruction of fortune and extirpation of the seed of the race of kṣhatriyas. Hence it is better to keep them under guard in a definite place."

"This" says the school of Parāsara, "is akin to the fear from a lurking snake, for, a prince may think that apprehensive of danger, his father has locked him up and may attempt to put his own father on his lap. Hence it is better to keep a prince under the custody of boundary guards or inside a fort."

"This" says Pisuna, "is akin to the fear (from a wolf) of a flock of sheep; for, after understanding the cause of his rustication, he may avail

<sup>2047</sup> R. Syamatastri's Eng. Trans., pp. 37-40.

himself of the opportunity to make an alliance with the boundary guards (against his father). Hence it is better to throw him inside a fort belonging to a foreign king far away from his own state."

"This" says Kaunapadanta, "is akin to the position of a calf; for, just as a man milks a cow with the help of her calf, so the foreign king may milk (reduce) the prince's father. Hence it is better to make a prince live with his maternal relations."

"This" says Vātavyādhi, "is akin to the position of a flag; for, as in the case of Aditi and Kauśika, the prince's maternal relations may, unfurling this flag, go on begging. Hence princes may be suffered to dissipate their lives by sensual excesses in as much as revelling sons do not dislike their indulgent father."

"This" says Kautilya, "is death in life; for no sooner is a royal family with a prince or princes given to dissipation attacked, than it perishes like a worm-caten piece of wood. Hence when the queen attains the age favourable for procreation, priests shall offer to Indra and Brhaspati the requisite oblations. When she is big with a child, the king shall observe the instructions of midwifery with regard to gestation and delivery. After delivery, the priests shall perform the prescribed purificatory ceremonials. When the prince attains the necessary age, adepts shall train him up under proper discipline."

From the above it is evident what a great emphasis Kautilya laid on the proper education of a prince. In another passage 1648 we are told: "The king who is well-educated and disciplined in sciences, devoted to good government of his subjects and bent on doing good to all people will enjoy the earth unopposed." Again, according to Kautilya the king should possess among other qualities, "sharp intellect, strong memory, keen mind, traninig in all kinds of arts, eleverness to discern the causes necessitating cessation of treaty or war with an enemy or to lie in wait keeping treaties, obligations and pledges or to avail himself of the enemy's weak points and to observe custom as taught by aged persons." 1649

Coming to Kautilya's curriculum for the education of the prince we find that it included four sciences: Ānvīkṣikī, Trayī, Vārttā and Daṇḍanīti. 1650 We have already seen that according to Kautilya "he (the prince) shall be taught only of righteousness and wealth "1651 and he expressly says that "these can be learnt only from the four sciences." 1652 It appears, however, that the authorities are not agreed as to the number of sciences to be taught, for, we are told:—1658

"The school of Manu hold that there are only three sciences: the triple Vedas, Vārttā and the science of government, in as much as the science of Ānvīkṣikī is nothing but a special branch of the Vedas.

<sup>2046</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp. 10-11.

<sup>2062</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>2449</sup> Ibid., p. 319.

<sup>1851</sup> Ibid., p. 38.

<sup>1663</sup> Ibid.

"The school of Brhaspati say that there are only two sciences: Vartta and the science of government, in as much as the triple Vedas are merely an abridgment for a man experienced in affairs temporal.

"The school of Usanz declare that there is only one science and that the science of government; for, they say, it is in that science that all other sciences have their origin and end."

"But Kautilya holds that four and four only are the sciences; wherefore it is from these sciences that all that concerns righteousness and wealth is learnt, therefore they are so called."

But although Kautilya prescribes four sciences for the prince, he admits the supreme importance of Dandaniti as a subject for royal education. For says he:—

"The first three sciences (out of the four) are dependent for their well-being on the science of government." 1654

"The sceptre on which the well-being and progress of the sciences of Anvikṣikī, the triple Vedas and Vārttā depend is known as Danda. That which treats of Danda is the science of government, Dandanīti." 1655

"A king of unrighteous character and vicious habits will, though he is an emperor, fall an easy prey either to the fury of his own subjects or to that of his enemies. But a wise king, trained in politics, will, though he possesses a small territory, conquer the whole earth with the help of the best-fitted elements of sovereignty and will never be defeated." 1656

"Whoever, well-versed in polity, thus acquires friends, wealth and territory with or without population will overreach other kings in combination against him." 1657

"Even if the king is held by the chiefs under their influence, the minister may, through the medium of king's favourites teach him the principles of polity with illustrations from the Itihasa and Purana." 1658

<sup>1084</sup> Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>1000</sup> Ibid., p. 321.

<sup>1600</sup> Ibid., p. 318.

<sup>1655</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>1657</sup> Ibid., p. 365.

The Nitisara of Kamandaka has a description of a tree of Polity of which the four vidyas have been called the four roots. Says he: "He is indeed a real politician who knows the tree with eight branches, four roots, sixty leaves, two props, six flowers and three fruits." Similarly, in the Yuktikalpataru the different vidyas have been compared to the branches and flowers of a true. In the beginning of the work, the reason why it has been called a tree has been thus explained: "The root of this tree is Dandanāti (Polity), the stem is Jyotisa, the various Vidyas are its branches and flowers, its fruits are unknown and its sap is nectar to the good (i. c., promotes their welfare)." 1660

But Kautilya rightly observes: "Danda (punishment) which alone can procure safety and security of life is, in its turn, dependent on discipline." Hence the king shall keep up his personal discipline by receiving lessons in sciences." Now "discipline is of two kinds: artificial and natural; for instruction can render only a docile being conformable to the rules of discipline and not an undocile being. 1668

In Bhababhūti's Uttara-Rāma-charita Atreyl says: "Now with these two boys possessed of exceedingly brilliant power of comprehension and retentiveness as they are, students like us cannot keep pace in the studies. For, the preceptor imparts unto the clever, instructions just the same as unto the dull and in no wise doth he their power of comprehension either make or thwart; and yet there does result a vast difference as to the outcome; for we know that only a pure crystal is able to take in images and not a mere lump of clay." (Uttara-Rāma chārita—Belvalkar's Eng. Trans., p. 32).

Kālidāsa in his Raghuvaņšam speaks in tho same strain: "Nisarga-samakārabinītah; swāvhābikam binītatwam teşām; mūmursu şahajam tejo habişeba habibhujam".

In Bāṇa's Kādambari Sukanāsa says to Chandrāpida: "Men such as thou art, are the fitting vessels for instruction. For, on a mind free from stain the virtue of good counsel enters easily, as the moon's rays on a moon crystal. The words of a guru, though pure, yet cause great pain when they enter the ears of the bad as water does; while in others they produce a nobler beauty, like the ear-jewel on an elephant" (Kādambari—C. M. Ridding's Eng. Trans., pp. 76-77).

<sup>1650</sup> Kamandakiya, Nitisara VIII. 42.

<sup>1660</sup> Yuktikalpataru, slokas 6-7.

<sup>1661</sup> Arthasistra (R. Syamasastil's Eng. Trans.), p. 10. 1662 Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>1668</sup> Kriyā bi drabyam binayati nādrabyam—Arthaśāstrā Bk. I. Ch. V.

The study of sciences can tame only those who are possessed of such mental faculties as obedience, hearing, grasping, retentive memory, discrimination, inference and deliberation but not others devoid of such faculties." 1664 It follows from the above that for those who have not this natural disipline, there is the artificial discipline of punishment.

"Sciences" he continues: 1665 "should be studied and their precepts strictly observed under the authority of specialist teachers. Having undergone the ceremony of tonsure, the student shall learn the alphabet (lipi) and arithmetic. After investiture with the sacred thread 1666 he shall study the Triple Vedas, the science of Ānvīkṣikī under teachers of acknowledged authority (siṣṭa), the science of Vartta under government superintendents and the science of Daṇḍanīti under theoretical and practical politicians." 1667

With regard to the length of the course we are told: "The Prince should observe celibacy till he becomes sixteen years old, shall observe the ceremony of tonsure (godana) and marry." investiture with the sacred thread took place in accordance with the regulations laid down in the Dharmasūtras in the eleventh year after conception the course would thus last six years. But we know that to learn one Veda twelve years were prescribed for the brahmacharin by the Dharmasūtras. It thus seems that the study of Vartta and Dandanīti may have been continued even after marriage. For, while dealing with the life of a saintly king Kautilya says that among other things the king should "acquire wisdom by keeping company with the aged and keep up his personal discipline by receiving lessons in the sciences."1668 Again, while dealing with the duties of a king Kautilya says: "He shall divide both day and night into eight nalikas (11 hrs.) .....during the second (one-eighth) part of the day he shall not

<sup>2884</sup> Ibid., 10. 2888 Ibid., pp. 10-11.

<sup>1006</sup> Compare the custom in ancient Persia where according to Alcibiades the princes were given over to royal tutors only at fifteen.

Vätsyäyana in his Kämasütra Bk. I. Ch. II. refers to Arthachintakäh (Professors of Arthasästra).

<sup>2008</sup> Arthasastra (R. Syamasastri's Eng. Trans.), p. 13.

only bathe and dine but also study ...... During the second (one eighth) part of the night he shall attend to bathing and supper and study...... During the sixth (one eighth) part of the night he shall recall to his mind the injunctions of sciences."1669 From the Mahabharata 1670 we learn that King Janadeva of Mithila had inhis palace one hundred acharyas who used to teach him the duties of the men living in the different Asramas (stages) of life. We similarly find that kings Dhrtarastra and Yudhisthira were regularly taught by Bhisma and Bidur respectively. 1671 Even in the course of their flight to the forest from the city of Baranabata the Pandavas used to read the Upanisads, the Vedangas and Nītisāstra. 1672 Sukrāchārya also while dealing with the daily routine of the king says that the king should take two muhurtas (i. c., 96 minutes) for prayers, study and charity 1678 and another muhurta for observing (i. e., studying) old and new things. 1674 Yājnabalkya<sup>1675</sup> also enjoins the king to study the Vedas after taking his evening meal.

Some further particulars with regard to Kautilya's scheme of education are forthcoming. "For acquiring efficiency in the skill of shooting arrows at moving objects, he shall engage himself in sports only in such forests as are cleared by hunters and houndkeepers from the fear of highway robbers, snakes and enemies." 1676

During the period of study the young prince was to be placed under the strict supervision of his teachers. "In view of maintaining efficient discipline, he shall ever and invariably keep company with aged professors of sciences in whom alone discipline has its firm root." 1877

The hours of study were thus planned out. "He shall spend the forence in receiving lessons in military arts concerning elephants, horses,

<sup>1449</sup> Ibid., Bk. I. Ch. XIX.

<sup>1670</sup> Santiparba, 218th adhyaya.

<sup>1071</sup> Ibid., 227th adhyāya and Anuśāsanaparba.
1072 Ādiparba, 156th adhyāya.

<sup>1678</sup> Sukranītisāra, Ch. I. line 558.

<sup>1074</sup> Ibid., line 564.

<sup>1675</sup> I. 330.

avve Arthaffstra (R. Syāmasāstri's Eng. Trans.), pp. 49-50.

<sup>2077</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

chariots and weapons and the afternoon in hearing Itihāsa...........

During the rest of the day and night, he shall not only receive new tessons and revise old ones but also hear over and again what has not been clearly understood.".1678

The above outline of royal education gives greater importance to practical wisdom than to theoretical philosophy and religious instruction. Kautilya has included the study of the three Vedas in the curriculum of royal studies but in later details it is curious to find no reference to their study. Moreover, the injunction referred to above that the science of Vartta is to be studied under Government superintendents and the science of Dandaniti under theoretical and practical politicians shows that these two subjects were learnt in very close contact with their practice in actual life. We have also seen that in the opinion of Kautilya, of the three kinds of princes, whoever carries into practice whatever he is taught concerning righteousness and wealth is the best. 1679

That a thorough grasp of the subject was the objective is evident from the following: "He (the prince) shall not only......revise old lessons but also hear over and over again what has not been clearly understood. For, from hearing (sūtra) ensues knowledge, from knowldge steady application (yoga) is possible; and from application self-possession (ātmavattā) is possible. This is what is meant by efficiency of learning (vidyāsāmarthyam).1680

Kāmandaka in his Nitisāra is equally emphatic on the education of the prince. Says he: "The King for the sake of attaining progress should train up his sons with proper education (sikṣā); for, uneducated princes bring ruin on the family". He further says: "If the king be trained up by proper education (vidyā) then he is never depressed by dangers and difficulties". Again: "The king who daily receives a proper training in the 64 kalās like dancing, singing, music etc., daily impoves his position like the Moon

<sup>1078</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>1000</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>1002</sup> Ibid., let sarga, di. 59.

<sup>1679</sup> Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>1601</sup> Kāmandakiya Nitisara, 7th sarga, 11. 5.

in the lunar fortnight". 1688 His scheme of royal education as outlined in sarga two of his Nītisara is almost wholly copied from that of Kautilya. It thus includes the study by the prince of Ānvīkṣikī, the Trayī, Varttā and Daṇḍanīti. 1684 According to him the king should also be proficient in the śāstras and in Vyabahāra 1685 as also in the 64 kalas. 1686

Sukrāchārya has also drawn up in his Nītisāra a syllabus of intellectual training for princes. Says he: "Association with the guru is for the acquisition of sastras, the sastras are calculated to increase knowledge: the king who is trained up in the branches of learning is respected by the good and does not incline to wrong deeds even if impelled by evil motives".1687 "Anviksiki, the Trayi, Vartta and Dandaniti-these four branches of learning the king should always study. The science of discussion and Vedanta are founded on the science of Anviksiki; virtue and vice, as well as interests and injuries of man are based on the Trayi; wealth and its opposite on Vartta; good and bad government on Dandaniti. Thus all the eastes of men and the stages of human life are built upon these sciences. The six Angas, the four Vedas, Mimamsa (system of philosophy), Nyāya (system of philosophy), Dharmašāstras as well as the Puramas-all these constitute the Trayi. In Vartta are treated interest, agriculture, commerce and preservation of cows. The man who is well up in Vartta need not be anxious for earning. Danda is restraint and punishment, thence the king is also known to be Danda. The Niti that regulates punishment constitutes Dandaniti, so called because it governs and guides. Man gives up both pleasure and pain through Anviksiki and the science of Self (metaphysics) and gets both temporal and spiritual self-realisation through the Trayi ".1688

Sukracharya, however, lays the greatest stress on the study of Nitisastra by the prince. Says he: "As Nitisastra is considered to be the spring of virtue, wealth, enjoyment and salvation, the ruler should ever carefully peruse it; by knowing it, rulers can be victorious

<sup>1000</sup> Ibid., \$1. 61.

<sup>1888</sup> Ibid., 6th sarga, sl. 1.

sees Sukranitisära, Ch. I. lines 295-97.

<sup>1684</sup> Ibid., 2nd sarga, sl. 1.

<sup>1000</sup> Ibid., 1st sarga, \$1, 61.

<sup>1688</sup> Ibid., lines 303-16.

over foes, affectionate and conciliatory towards subjects and well up in the arts of state-craft". 1689 "Nitiszstra conduces to the desires and interests of all and hence is respected and followed by all. It is also indispensable to the prince since he is the lord of all men and things. Just as in the case of the sick persons who take unprescribed food (apathya), the diseases come immediately and do not delay in manifesting themselves, so also in the case of the princes who are unschooled in the principles of Nītiszstra, the enemies make their appearance at once and do not delay in declaring themselves. The two primary functions of the king are the protection of subjects and constant punishment of offenders; these two cannot be achieved without Nītiszstra". 1690 "The king who always studies the abridged text of Sukra becomes competent to bear the burden of state-affairs". 1691

Sukra also includes manly exercises and military training in his scheme of education for the prince. Says he: "The king should always practise military parades with the troops and strike the objective by means of missiles at the stated hours". 1692 "He should every morning and evening exercise himself with elephants, horses, chariots and other conveyances". 1693 This "exercise over elephants, horses and carriages" should be taken by the king at dawn and for one muhurta (=48 minutes) only; 1694 for, "excessive walking.....and overexercise soon bring about men's old age". 1695 "And he should learn as well as teach the military arrangements of soldiers". 1696 "He should sport with tigers, peacocks, birds and other animals of the forest and in the course of hunting kill the wild ones".1897 Sukra explains his reasons for including manly exercises as an integral part of royal education thus: "The advantages of hunting are the growth of ability to strike the aim and agility in the use of arms and weapons but cruelty is the great defect ".1698

<sup>1888</sup> Ibid., lines 10-13.

<sup>1001</sup> Ibid., Ch. IV. Sec. VII, lines 853-54.

<sup>2802</sup> Ibid., lines 779-80.

<sup>1898</sup> Ibid. Ch. I. line 663.

<sup>1698</sup> Ibid., Ch. III. lines 603-04.

<sup>1897</sup> Ibid., lines 665-66,

 <sup>1699</sup> Ibid., lines 23-28. Compare Ibid., lines
 29-38; Ibid., lines 301-02; Ibid.,
 Ch. IV. Sec. VII. lines 857-58.

<sup>1694</sup> Ibid., line 559.

<sup>1896</sup> Ibid., Ch. I. line 664.

<sup>1698</sup> Ibid., lines 667-69,

In another place Sukra says: "The king should make the children of his family well-up in Nītiśāstra, proficient in archery (Dhanurveda), capable of undertaking strains and of bearing harsh words and punishments, habituated to the feat of arms (Sauryavidyā), master of all arts and sciences, upright in morals as well as discipline through his ministers and councillors." Thus the course of instruction for the children of the royal household was at once physical, intellectual, moral, military as well as political. Moreover, the terms "Dhanurveda" and "Sauryavidyā" refer perhaps to the theoretical and applied branches of military education. The former indicates proficiency in the science of archery i. e., military tactics and implements generally, while the latter refers to actual field-work, parade, mock-fights, assaults-at-arms etc.,—practices that call forth martial enthusiasm and develop warlike aptitudes.

The curriculum of royal studies, according to Aswaghosa comprised a number of subjects—the Veda, sacrifices, the performance of sacrifices; archery, the training of elephants, the domesticating of horses, the carrying of the lance, jumping, running, massage, fording a river, strategy, the rules of battle array; music, dancing, the art of playing on the tambourine, the art of playing on the conch, sculpture, painting; sewing, weaving, sealing, wax-work, the making of garlands of flowers, arrangement of garlands, examination of precious stones and valuable materials for clothing; grammar, literature, the origin of writing, eloquence, rhetoric; the study of origins, heredity and cugenics; astronomy, casting horoscopes of boys and girls, interpretation of dreams and of the flight of birds; computation, interest; the arts of love and laughter, conjuring tricks, chess, dice etc. This list agrees in the main with what we find in the Lalitavistara and compares well with what we find described in the Jaina texts as the the curricula of studies of Mahabira.

In the Milinda-Pañha we are told that "the business of the princes of the earth is to learn all about elephants, horses, chariots, rapiers and the documents and the law of property" 1700

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Ibid., Ch. II. lines 43-46.

<sup>1700</sup> S. B. E., Vol. XXXV, p. 247.

The Matsya Purāṇa<sup>170</sup> says that "the king should have his prince instructed by learned teachers in Dharmasastra, Kamasastra, Arthasastra, Dhanurveda as also in the knowledge of elephants and chariots. He should regularly take physical exercises and learn the silpas."

In the Bhāgabad Puraņa<sup>1702</sup> we read that the youthful Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma studied the Vedas with their Angas, Upaniṣads, Dhanurveda, Dharmasāstra, Mīmāṃsā, Ānvikṣikī, Rājanīti and the sixty-four kalās.

It is to be presumed that as in the case of the ordinary twice-born student, the prince's training of the sciences and arts was based on a knowledge of the grammar of the Sanskrit language. The story contained in the Kathāsaritsāgara<sup>1703</sup> of the king who did not know Sanskrit grammar seems to show that some royal pupils did not always find it easy to master all its intricacies.

With regard to the text-books, those used by the ordinary twiceborn students for Vedic study would serve also for the princes in so far as they studied the same subjects but there were two developments which arose to meet the needs of the special training required for them. We have already referred to the Arthasastra as a subject to be studied by the prince. Kamandaka in his introduction to the Nitisara also refers to the Arthasastra of Kautilya as a favourite learning of kings. Says he: "From the scientific work of that learned man who had reached the limits of knowledge, the favourite learning of the kings, brief yet intelligible and useful in the acquisition and maintenance of the earth. we are going to extract and teach kings in the manner acceptable to those learned in the science of Polity." Dandi in his Dasakumārcharita1704 says: "Learn then the science of Polity. Now this has been by the revered teacher Visnugupta abridged into six thousand slokas in the interest of the Maurya (king) that when learnt and well-observed, it can produce the results expected from it."

The scope of this subject (Arthasastra) has been thus laid down by Kautilya: "The means of subsistence of mankind is termed Artha.

<sup>1701</sup> Ch. 220, 2-3: 24, 2-3,

<sup>1705</sup> Penzer, Vol. I. p. 71,

<sup>1702</sup> X. 45, 25-27.

<sup>1704</sup> IL 8.

The earth which contains mankind is also termed Artha. The science which treats of the means of acquiring and maintaining the earth is Arthasastra."1705 From this it follows clearly that Arthasastra really treated of Artha in the sense of earth, and not in its primary sense of wealth which was the subject that properly pertained to the field of Kautilya's Arthasastra mentions the same fact in another place, for, it actually commences with the statement that it was composed by the author as a 'compendium of almost all the Arthasastras written by prior teachers for the acquisition and maintenance of the earth.'1706 From this it follows that Arthasastra was really a very comprehensive science as its data were drawn from a wide variety of of sources, for, any subject that had more or less intimate bearing upon the means of acquiring and maintaining the earth could not but naturally fall within its scope. Thus, Dandanīti was the most important branch, in fact the fundamental basis, of Arthasastra, for, Dandaniti "upon which the progress of the world depends"1707 was of the utmost to princes in their efforts to acquire and maintain the earth. Vartta also supplied no mean quota to the science, for, it was through Vartta and Vartta alone that two of the seven limbs of the state, viz., Kosa and Danda could be acquired. The Sukraniti recognises this double aspect of Arthasastra when it defines it as the science which describes the actions and administration of kings, as well as the means of livelihood in a proper manner. 1708 In fact, this double aspect of the Arthasastra has often given rise to a confusion of ideas and has led to its being designated sometimes as Polity and sometimes as Economics by writers at different times. Later on Arthasastra was devested of its economic topics and became simply the political science. In later Sanskrit literature this use is made of the word Arthasastra and the terms Nītišāstra, Arthasāstra, Dandanīti and Rājanīti are used indiscriminately to represent the science of Polity.

Vartta was another subject of royal study. The word is derived from the root 'vit' by the addition of the suffix 'n'. Thus Vartta

<sup>1708</sup> Arthadastra, Bk. V. Ch. I.

<sup>1706</sup> Ibid., Bk. I. Ch. I.

<sup>1707</sup> Tasyāmāyattā lokayātrā—Bk. I. Ch. IV. 1708 Bk. IV. Sec. III. lines 110-111.

etymologically represents vitti or means of livelihood. Along with the use of the term Vartta as a collective name for occupations, it was also used as the designation of a division of learning, pertaining to knowledge relating to those occupations. According to Kautilya gain and loss of wealth 1709 are to be known from Vartta. In Sukranīti 1710 we are told that profit and loss of wealth are based on Vartta. Kamandaka in his Nītisāra 1711 merely repeats the words of his political guru about the nature of Vartta. Vartta was thus the branch of learning that had wealth for its subject of study. It at first included three subjects—agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade. 1712 Kāmandaka writes to the same effect. 1713 Vaya Purāṇa 1714 also says:

"Kṛṣibaṇijya tadbartu tṛtīyaṇ pasupālanam Vidyāhyotā mahavaga Vartta vṛttiayasayah"

In course of time Vartta came to include usury as well. As Bhagabad Puraṇa<sup>1715</sup> says:

"Kṛṣibāṇijyagorakṣā kuṣīdam turymuchyate Vartta chaturvidyā tatra bayam gobṛttayoniśm."

Sukranīti<sup>1716</sup> also says that in Vārttā are treated interest, agriculture, trade and preservation of cows. In the Devīpurāṇa<sup>1717</sup> we find that even Karmānta, i. e., manufacture has been added to Vārttā while in the Mahābhārata<sup>1718</sup> the various arts and crafts (bibidhāni śilpāni) were included in it.

Kautilya describes the merits of Vārttā as a subject of royal study in no uncertain words. Says he: "It is most useful in that it brings in grains, cattle, gold, forest produce and free labour. It is by means

<sup>1709</sup> Arthanarthau.

<sup>1710</sup> Ch. I, lines 305-08.

<sup>1711</sup> II. 7; also Agnipurăņa 238. 9.

<sup>1718</sup> Kṛṣipaśupālye bāṇijyā cha vārttā—Arthaśāstra, Bk. I. Ch. IV.

<sup>1718</sup> II. 14.

<sup>1714</sup> V. 10. 28.

<sup>1715</sup> X. 24. 21.

<sup>1716</sup> Ch. I. lines 311-12.

<sup>2727 67. 13.</sup> 

<sup>1718</sup> XII. 167. 10-11,

of the treasury and the army obtained solely through Vartta that the king can hold under his control both his and his enemy's party."1719

The study of Itihasa by the prince included the study of Purana, Itibrtta, Akhyāyika, Udāharaņa, Dharmasastra and Arthasastra. 1790 It is when we look at this comprehensive sense of Itihasa that we can understand why products of imagination have been incorporated in history. 1721 The Puranas resemble more than any other of these six branches, history (in the modern sense of the word). The five subjects that form the subject-matter of these Puranas may be regarded as their five characteristics. They are sarga, pratisarga, vamsa, vamsanucharita vamia and vamśanucharita and manyantara. Under recorded the names of kings, the periods for which they reigned and noteworthy events connected with the distinguished reigns. The nature of Udaharana will be clear from two passages in the Arthasastra of Kautilya<sup>1722</sup> and Vatsyāyana's Kāmasūtra. 1728 It seems that Udaharana embodies facts and not mere imagination. As regards the nature of Itibrtta, probably it dealt at length with events. 1724 The mention of Itibrtta of kings and rais as well as the sacred Purana Samhita embodying Dharma and Artha in the same verse supports the same view. Akhyāyikā included moral fables and stories such as were collected (afterwards) in the Panchatantra and the Hitopadesa.

The Dharmasāstras as a general rule contain groups of laws, religious and civil and about atonement (āchāra, byābahāra and prāyaschitta).

Ānvikṣikī—was another subject of royal study. According to Kautilya<sup>1785</sup> it comprised the philosophy of Samkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata. In Sukranītisāra<sup>1786</sup> we are told that the science of discussion and Vedānta are founded on Ānvīkṣikī. According to Kautilya "the

<sup>1710</sup> Arthasastra, Bk. I. Ch. IV.

<sup>1780</sup> Kautilya's Arthasastra (R. Syamasastri's Eng. Trans.), p. 11.

<sup>3791</sup> Padma Purapa II. 85, 15; Vāyu Purapa 55, 2.

avas Bk. I. Ch. VI; R. Syamasastri's Eng. Trans., pp. 12-13.

<sup>1725</sup> Bk. I. Ch. II; K. Rangaswämi Iyenger's Eng. Trans., p. 16.

<sup>2724</sup> Mahabharata I. 1, 16, 1725 Bk. I. Ch. II. 1726 Ch. I, lines 305-08.

science of Anvikṣiki is most beneficial to the world, keeps the mind steady and firm in weal and woe alike and bestows excellence of foresight, speech and action. Light to all kinds of knowledge, easy means to accomplish all kinds of acts and receptacle of all kinds of virtues, is the science of Anvikṣiki ever held to be ".1727

In course of time the four sciences of Trayī, Daṇḍanīti, Vartta and Ānvīkṣikī came to be known as Kulavidyās of princes. From Raghuvaṃśam<sup>1728</sup> we find that a king wed his sons first to the Kulavidyās (which the commentator explains as Trayī, Daṇḍanīti, Vartta, and Ānvīkṣikī) and then to princesses.

But the preceptors, finding perhaps that their royal pupils did not always take kindly to the effort studying the political wisdom of the Arthasastra, devised the plan of using fables and stories as vehicles for teaching this science. The Panchatantra existed in the first half of the sixth century A. D. but the Tantrakhyayika which is considered to be its most original and earliest form was composed many centuries earlier. 1729 It is introduced with the story of a certain king who had three particularly idle and stupid sons. He wished to find a teacher for them and at last met with a certain brahmana, who promised to give the young princes such instruction in six months that they would surpass all others in the knowledge of right conduct. accomplishment of his object he composed the Panchatantra. The Hitopadesa is a similar collection of fables much later than the Panchatantra on which it is based. There are also other collections of fables like them, as for instance, the Kathasaritsagara. Mahabharata contains a great deal of didactic material embedded in the story and this may also have been used in the instruction of princes. For stories of heroes they had the epic poems like the Ramayana and and the Mahabharata and at a later date the bardic chronicles (like Chand-Raisa) of Rajasthan written in the vernaculars.

<sup>1727</sup> Bk. L Ch. II.

<sup>1728</sup> Canto XVII. 3.

<sup>2\*\*\*</sup> J. R. A. S., 1910, pp. 966f. Dr. Hertel thinks that the Tantrākhyāyikā was composed between 300 B. C. and 570 A. D. and nearer the earlier limit. Dr. F. W. Thomas takes it be as old as 300 A. D.

The education of the prince was in course of time made more individualistic than ever as is evident not only from Indian literature but also from inscriptions and coins. The Milinda-Pañha<sup>1750</sup> thus describes the attainments of Milinda (Menander the Great):—"Many were the arts and sciences he knew—holy tradition and secular law; the Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Nyāya and Vaiseṣika systems of philosophy; arithmetic: music; medicine; the four Vedas; the Purāṇas and the Itihāsas; astronomy, magic, causation and spells; the art of war; poetry; conveyaneing—in a word, the whole nineteen. As a disputant, he was bard to equal, harder still to overcome; the acknowledged superior of all the founders of the various schools of thought. And as in wisdom so in strength of body, swiftness, and valour, there was found none equal to Milindā in all India." From the Mychhakatika we learn that Sūdraka was a scholar in Rgveda, Sāmaveda, Mathematics, the arts regarding courtesans and the science of elephants.

Samudragupta was noted not more for his conquests than for his proficiency in the humanities of the times. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription describes how he was well-versed in the sastras. 1731 But his learning was not confined to the sacred lore alone. He was the prince of poets (kavirāja) whose various poetical compositions were fit to be the means of subsistence of learned people 1732 and gave him an empire of fame for his enjoyment. 1733 Altogether his sharp and polished intellect put to shame Kāsyapa, the preceptor of Indra. 1734 Besides poetry he also cultivated the sister arts of music. He "put to shame Narada by his choral skill and musical accomplishment." 1735 The Lyrist type of his coins represent Samudragupta as playing on the lyre or lute (vīnā). He was no less proficient in the sterner arts of the warrier. He depicts himself as an archer on some of his coins which represent him as holding a bow in his left hand and an arrow in his

<sup>1780</sup> S. B. E., Vol. XXXV, pp. 6-7.

<sup>1781</sup> Allahabad Pillar Inscription, line 5; šastratatwārthabharttuḥ—Ibid., lines 15 and 30.

<sup>1700</sup> Ibid., line 27.

<sup>1788</sup> Kirtirajyam bhunakti-Ibid., line 6.

<sup>1784</sup> Ibid., line 27.

<sup>2748</sup> Gändharva-lalitäh laliteih-Ibid., line 27.

right with the head of the arrow resting on the ground. On other coins he stands out as the invincible hunter and takes the title Vyāghraparākrama, of which the meaning is visible on the obverse, representing the king as trampling on a live tiger, which falls back as he shoots it. Wearing only waist cloth, turban and some jewellery he stands as the very picture of energy.

As to Harsa Siladitya, Bāņa distinctly says that Harşa was a poet. "In poetical contests he poured out a necter of his own which he had not received from any foreign source:"1786 " his poetical skill finds words fail;"1737 "his knowledge cannot find range enough in doctrines to be learned;"1788 "all the fine arts are too narrow a field for his genius."1789 This might be the exaggerated estimate of a courtier composing the panegyric of his patron but we have evidence in its support from an external source. I-Tsing 1740 that Harsa "versified the story of the Bodhisattva Jimutabāhana (cloud-borne) who surrendered himself in place of a Naga. Historians of Sanskrit Literature credit Harsa with the authorship of two Priyadarsikā the Ratnabali  $\mathbf{and}$ together with grammatical work. That literary criticism in Ancient India at least, thought highly of Harsa is evident from the fact that Jayadeva, the author of Gitagovindam names him along with Bhasa and Kalidasa as one of his illustrious predecessors. 1741 Harsa is also stated to have taken part in dramatic performances. 1742 Moreover, Harşa was a skilful calligraphist if it is his autograph which is seen in the Banskhera Plate Inscription, the last line of which consists of the sign-manual

Corā is the mass of locks, Mayūra the ornament of the ear, Bhāsa is the smile and Kālidāsa, the master of all poets is the charm, Harşa is pleasure and Bāṇa is the five-arrowed Cupid. How could the damsel of Poetry be other than charming?

1748 Panikkar—Sri Harşa of Kanauj, p. 68.

<sup>1736</sup> Harsacharita-Cowell and Thomas, p. 58.

<sup>1787</sup> Ibid., p. 65.

<sup>1788</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1780</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1740</sup> Takakusu's Eng. Trans., p. 163.

<sup>1741 &</sup>quot;Yasyā corāśchikura nikarāḥ karṇapuro mayūro Bhāso hāsaḥ Kavikulaguru Kālidāso vilāsaḥ Harṣo harṣo hṛdayavasatiḥ pañchabāṇastu Bāṇaḥ Kīsam naisā kathaya kavitā kāminī kautakīya."

of the king written in elaborately ornamented characters. That Harsa was also taught archery is evident from Bana who describes Harsa as "more delighting in the bow than Drona, more unerring with the arrow than Aswatthama." 1743

Bana also describes the stout forearm of Kumāragupta, a Mālava prince as "marked by the bow-string's scar" \*1744 showing that the princes of the time practised archery. 1745 According to Bana "with an intellect unwearied in political science and a deep study of the law-books he (king Tarapida of Ujjain) made in light and glory a third with the Sun and the Moon." 1746

That the princes also used to take physical exercise in the hall of exercise attached to the palace is evident from Bāṇa's Kādambari where we are told that the king entered the private apartments and "there laying aside his adornments, like the Sun divested of his rays or the sky bare of moon and the stars, he entered the hall of exercise, where all was duly prepared. Having taken pleasant exercise therein with the princes of his own age, he then entered the bathing place." 1747

An idea of the character of and care for the education of the princes of the age will be evident from the following account given by Bana about the education of prince Chandrapida, son of king Tarapida of Ujjain:—
"As Chandrapida underwent in due course all the circle of ceremonies, beginning with the tying of his top-knot, his childhood passed away; and to prevent distraction, Tarapida had built for him a palace of learning outside the city, stretching half a league along the Siprariver, surrounded by a wall of white bricks like the circle of peaks of a snow-mountain, girt with a great most running along the walls, guarded by very strong gates, having one door kept open for ingress, with stables for horses and palanquins close by, and a gymnasium constructed beneath—a fit palace for the immortals. He took infinite pains in gathering there teachers of every science, and having placed the boy there, like a young lion in a cage, forbidding all egress,

<sup>1748</sup> Harşacharita - Cowell and Thomas, p. 63.

<sup>1748</sup> Compare Raghubamsam, VI. 56, IX. 63; XI. 40.

<sup>1947</sup> Kadambari-C. M. Ridding's Eng. Trans., p. 13,

<sup>1744</sup> Ibid., p. 120,

<sup>1746</sup> Ibid., p. 48.

surrounding him with a suite composed mainly of the sons of his teachers, removing every allurement to the sports of boyhood and keeping his mind free from distraction, on an auspicious day he entrusted him, together with Vaisampayana, to masters, that they might acquire all knowledge. Every day when he rose, the king with Vilasabati and a small retinue, went to watch him, and Chandrapida undisturbed in mind kept to his work by the king, quickly grasped all the sciences taught him by his teachers, whose efforts were quickened by his great powers, as they brought to light his natural abilities; the whole range of arts assembled in his mind as in a pure jewelled mirror. He gained the highest skill in word, sentence, proof, law and royal policy; in all kinds of weapons such as the bow, quoit, shield, scimitar, dart, mace, battle-axe and club; in driving and elephant-riding; in musical instruments, such as the lute, fife, drum, cymbal and pipe; in the laws of dancing laid down by Bharata and others and the science of music such as that of Nārada; in the management of elephants, the knowledge of a horse's age and the marks of men; in painting, leaf-cutting, the use of books and writing; in all the arts of gambling, knowledge of the cries of birds, and astronomy; in testing of jewels, carpentry, the working of ivory, in architecture, physics, mechanics, antidotes, mining, crossing of rivers, leaping and jumping and sleight of hand; in stories, dramas, romances, poems; in the Mahabharata, the Puranas, the Itihāsas and the Rāmāyaņa; in all kinds of writing, all foreign languages, all technicalities, all mechanical arts, in metre and in every other art. And while he ceaselessly studied, even in his childhood an inborn vigour like that of Bhima shone forth in him and stirred the world in wonder. For, when he was but in play the young elephants. who had attacked him as if he were a lions' whelp, had their limbs bowed down by his grasp on their ears and could not move: with one stroke of his scimitar he cut down palm-trees as if his shafts, like those Parasurama they were lotus-stalks: of when he blazed to consume the forest of earth's royal stems, cleft only the loftiest peaks; he exercised himself with an iron club which ten men were needed to lift".1748 "The king learning that

Chandrapida had grown to youth and had completed his knowledge of all the arts, studied all the sciences and won great praise from his teachers, summoned Balahaka, a mighty warrior and with a large escort of cavalry and army sent him on a very auspicious day to fetch the prince. And Balahaka, going to the palace of learning...... approached Chandrapida and respectfully gave the king's message: 'Prince, the king bids me say: "Our desires are fulfilled; the sastras have been learnt; thou hast gained the highest skill in all the martial All thy teachers give thee permission to leave the house of learning. Let the people see that thou hast received thy training, like a young royal elephant come out from the enclosure, having in thy mind the whole orb of the arts like the full moon, newly risen. Let the eyes of the world, long eager to behold thee, fulfil their true function; for, all the zenanas are yearning for thy sight. This is now the tenth year of thine abode in the school and thou didst enter it having reached experience of thy sixth year. This year, then, so reckoned, is the sixteenth of thy life. Now, therefore, when thou hast come forth and shown thyself to all thy mothers longing to see thee and hast saluted those who deserve thy honour, do thou lay aside thy early discipline, and experience at thy will the pleasures of the court and the delights of fresh youth. Pay thy respects to the Chiefs: honour the brahmanas: protect thy people; gladden thy kinsfolk."1749

Relying on inscriptions Prof. Dubreuil describes Mahendrabarman, Pallava of Kanchi (618 A. D.) as one who glorified poetry and music. It appears that he was the composer of some swaras. A burlesque (prahasana) has been found at Travancore written by Mahendrabarman. Prof. Dubreuil has found confirmation of this fact from an inscription on a cave at Māmandūr and which he reads as Mattavilāsādipadam prahasanam, Mattavilāsa being a title Mahendrabarman I. According to Hinen Tsang Ansubarman a recent king (of Nepal) had written a treatise on Etymology. This report of Hinen Tsang about Amsubarman's learning receives corroboration from an Inscription 1750 (dated S. 39 i. e., 635 A. D.) where the following epithet is applied to him: "niśi niśi

<sup>1749</sup> Ibid., pp. 61-62.

<sup>1780</sup> No. 7 (Ind. Antiquary, IX. p. 170).

chānekaszetrārtha bimarszbaszditzsaddarsanatayā dharmadhikarasthitebamanatisayam manyamanah." Parameswaraharman kāranamebātatsa Pallava, king of Kāńchi (674 A. D.) is described in the Kuram Pallava grant<sup>1751</sup> as fond of poetry. King Javāpida of Kashmere (751-782 A. D.) was well-versed in the sastra on dancing and acting composed by Bharata muni. 1752 "Receiving instruction from a master of grammatical science, called Ksīra, the learned Javapīda gained distinction with the wise. He was proud of being able to compete with the learned. So much greater was his fame from the title of scholar than from that of king that notwithstanding his various faults it has not faded like other (things) subject to time."1758 Jaydeva of Nepal (759 A. D.) is mentioned to have composed certain verses contained in the Inscription dated S. 153. The Eastern Chalukya king Vinayaditya III (766-809 Saka) was specially proficient in Mathematics and hence was called Gunaka. An idea of the training imparted to King Sankarabarman of Kashmere (883-902 A. D.) by his royal father can be obtained from the following words of Sankarabarman himself, preserved in Kalhana's Rajatarangini: "I was taken about by my father, on foot and without shoes, dressed in heavy armour when it was hot and in transparent thin cloth when it was cold. When those who went before the king saw me as I was running by the side of the horses during the chase and elsewhere, torn by the thorns and with tears in my eyes, they made representation to him. He replied to them: 'Since I have attained the throne from common rank, I know the hardships (experienced) by attendants at different times during their services. After undergoing such misery, this (son) will be sure to know the troubles of others when he comes to the throne. Otherwise, he may remain ignorant (of them), being born on the throne."1754 Mahendrapala (890-908 A. D.) and Mahipala (910-940 A. D.) of Kanauj also had as their teacher the famous poet and dramatist Rajasekhara who in his works always describes himself as such. Kshemagupta (940-958 A. D.) of Kashmere is described by Kalhana as trained by his teacher in the art of drawing darts. 1755 Abhimanyu of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1752</sup> Hultzch-South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I. pp. 148-50.

<sup>175</sup> Rejatarangini, IV. 423.

<sup>1758</sup> Ibid., IV. 489-91.

<sup>1754</sup> Ibid., V. 196-99.

<sup>1754</sup> Tbid., VI., 180-81,

Kashmere (958-972 A. D.) was a learned king, well-versed in the śastras. 1786 Bhoja Paramara of Dhara (c. 1010-1055 A. D.) was a great author himself and a master of many subjects. He studied Astronomy, Alamkara (poetics), Architecture, Yoga and Grammar and on each of these subjects, he has left works which are still authoritative. His Saraswatikantāvarana treated 25 Rajamartanda on Yoga and Rajamarankakarana on astronomy are well-known and speak of his high proficiency in these sciences. Bhoja is mentioned by several well-known writers as an author on Hindu Law as well, though no work of his on that subject is extant. He is so mentioned by Sūlanātha in the Prayaschittaviveka, by Raghunandana and even by Vijnaneswara in his famous Mitaksara. Rajendra Chola of Tanjore (1014-44 A. D.) was not only a great military commander but also a learned man as the title pandit is found prefixed to his name in many inscriptions. King Eraga of the Rattas of Saundatti is described in one of his inscriptions (dated 1040 A. D.) as a Vidyadhara in singing.1787 Abhimanyu of the Kachhaghata dynasty of Dubkhund was famous for his skill in horsemanship and archery which was extolled even by Bhoja, king of Malwa.1758 Kalasa (1063-1089 A. D.) of Kashmere is described by Kalhana as having learnt diplomacy and bravery from Jindurāja. 1759 Anantabarman Chodaganga (1076-1142 A. D.) of the Eastern Ganga dynasty of Trikalinga and Orissa is described as learned in the Vedas and the sastras and even in architecture and fine arts as if Saraswati herself was his nurse. 1760 Lakshamanadeva Paramara of Dhar

<sup>1754</sup> Ibid., VI. 290.

<sup>2747</sup> I. A., XIX. p. 161.

Yasyātyadrutabāhabāhana mahāšastraprayogādişu prābipyam prabikatthitam pṛthumati śrībhojapṛth wibhujā—Dhubkund Inscription—E. I., III.

<sup>1780</sup> Rājatarangiņī, VII. 577.

<sup>1760 &</sup>quot;Dhātrī tasya Saraswatisamabhabannunam nachetpitabāna talsāraswatamāryabālakatamaḥ śrī choḍagangeśwaraḥ.

Tädikvedamatih katham nipunatä äästresu tädikkatham tädikkäbyakitih katham parinateh silpesu tädikkätham".

<sup>-</sup>J. R. A. S. B., LXV. p. 831.

(1981-1104 A. D.) was also a great poet. 1761 Harsa of Kashmere (1089-1101 A. D.) was the embodiment of all sciences. 1769 "Knowing all languages, a great poet in all tongues and a depository of all learning, he became famous even in other countries. He was an well."1763 Bilhana in his Vikramankacharita1764 expert singer as Kashmere for his personal bravery praises Harsa of poet by which for his skill as he surpassed even He also refers to his Harsa of Kanuai. power of composing languages (sarvayāsā-kavitwa). sweet songs in all Kalhana, "not even Brhaspati is able to name clearly all the sciences in which he was versed. Even to this day, if one of the songs which he composed for the voice is heard, tears roll on the eye-lashes even of his enemies."1765 He was eminent by his knowledge of all sciences. 1766 From Kanaka, Kalhana's own uncle, Harsa took lessons in song and for his services as tutor in music he gave a lac of gold dinnars.1767 Harsa himself used to teach the dancing girls of his palace how to act. 1768 athletic exercises. 1769 He was also skilled in Naravarmadeva Paramara of Dhara (c. 1104-1133 A. D.) was like his father Udavaditva a poet and was the author of the fragment of an unpublished prasasti found in the Mahakala temple in Ujjain. 1770 In the Bhojasala at Dhara and in Uma and Mahakala temples in Ujjain inscriptions have been found in serpentine form giving the sanskrit noun and verb terminations of Panini, accompanied by verses containing the names of Udayaditya and Narayarman and making punning allusions to their valour and learning.1771 Govindachandra (1114-1155 A. D.) of the Gahadayala dynasty of Kanauj is described in most Gahadavala records as "Vividhavichāra-vidyā-vāchaspati," a very Brhaspati (teacher of gods) in different

1761 Nagpura Prasasti.

<sup>1462</sup> Rajatarangini, VII. 319.

<sup>2768</sup> Tbid., 613.

<sup>1764</sup> XVIII, 64-66.

<sup>1788</sup> Rajatarangini, VII. 941-42.

<sup>1766</sup> Tbid., 970.

<sup>1747</sup> Ibid., 1117-18,

<sup>1768</sup> Ibid., 1640-41.

<sup>1769</sup> Ibid., 1704.

<sup>1770</sup> Luard and Lele-The Paramaras of Dhar, p. 29.

<sup>1771</sup> Udayādityanāmāmkabarņanāgakīpāņikā ......maņiśreņī srsta sukabibandhunā.......kabiņām cha nīpānām cha hīdayeşu nibesitā-Luard and Lele's The Paramaras of Dhar, p. 30.

was trained in arms and taught sciences by Naravarman, the ruler of Malwa.<sup>1772</sup> Some was III (1126-37 A. D.) of the later Chalukya dynasty of Kalyan was the author of Mānasollasa or Abhilaşitartha-chintamani which is a compendium of military art, political science, horse and elephant rearing, poetry, dialectics, music, astronomy—in short, all sciences which lead to the happiness of men. In Astronomy he gave the Dhruvañkas (constants to be added). Vijayāditya Kadamba of Goa (1158 A. D.) was also a very learned prince and carned the title of Vāṇībhuṣaṇa. The praise bestowed on him in an inscription is well worth quoting below:—

"Vṛgan kunti prāse dhanusi biṣame chāṣifalake bare bādye gīte sarasakabitāśāstrabisare

Tumragadyarolic smrtisu cha puranesu purujit parijaanadhobhuj jagati vahuvidyadhara iti."

Ballalasena (1159-70 A. D.) of Bengal was also a learned man, being the author of Danasagara and he commenced another work which his son Laksamapasena finished. Aparaditya II Śilāhāra of Thana (1175-1200 A.D.) was also a great scholar, being the author of the well-known commentary on Yājūabālkyasmrti known as Aparāka, a work of recognised authority on Hindu law and recognised as such even in far off Kashmere. Arjunabamadeva Paramāra of Dhar (1210-16 A. D.) is described in his court-poet Madana's drama which is inscribed on slabs, found at Dhar by Lele, as not only a poet but also an author. 1778

It is thus evident that even in the Mediæval Hindu period the Indian princes were taught as before, not only the sastras but also the sastras. Al Beruni's statement<sup>1774</sup> that "the Brahmins teach the Vedas to the kṣhatriyas...... the vaisyas and sūdras are not allowed to hear it, much less to pronounce and recite it" proves not only the later origin of the dictum "Kalābādyantayoh sthitih"

<sup>1772</sup> Rajatarangini, VIII. 228.

Kāvyagāndharvasarvasyanidhinā yena sāmpratam Vārābatāraņam devyāschakre pustakabinayoh

<sup>-</sup>Ep. Ind., IX. p. 108.

<sup>2774</sup> Sachau's Eng. Trans., Vol. I. p. 125.

but also the study of the 'Vedas by the kshatriyas. And we have already seen how noted kings like Samudragupta, Harsa Šīlāditya, Harsa of Kashmere, Bhoja, Govindachandra and Vijayaditya were as learned in the sacred and profane lore as the Brahmins. But the above survey makes it clear that in the later (Media val) Hindu period, although there were princes well-versed in military science like Muñja and Bhoja of Dhar, Harsa of Kashmere, Abhimanyu of Dhubkhund and Rajendrachola of Tanjore Indian princes in general, revelled more in the study of poetics than in the more necessary study of the science of war and of the science of the state. The distinctions of heroines in love and despair, the essentials of poetry, poetical blemishes and embellishments and the figures of speech engaged the intelligence of the princes and some of them even wrote elaborate treatiscs on poetics and dramaturgy. This, no doubt, made princely education individualistic and liberal in character but the minute study of poetics led to the deterioration of taste and morals and the increase of voluptuousness can be marked from the Karpuramanjari of Rajasekhara to the Ramvāmanjari of Nyayachandra. The stage attracted the princes more than the camp and the way was thus paved for foreign domination and rule.

In the Bhagalpur grant<sup>1775</sup> of Nārāyaṇapāla and in the Deo-Barnak Inscription<sup>1776</sup> (of Bengal) we find the mention of an officer over king's sons, designated respectively as Kumārāmātya and Mahākumārāmātya, but we do not know whether the education of the princes was among their functions. Nevertheless on account of their ability to pay most of the princes seem to have engaged private tutors. Viṣma learnt the Vedas and the Vedāngas from his tutor Vasiṣṭha<sup>1777</sup> and had Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇdu and Bidur taught by a competent tutor.<sup>1778</sup> He also appointed Droṇāchārya to coach his grandsons—the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas.<sup>1779</sup> King Drupad also appointed a Brahmin resident-tutor who taught among other subjects

<sup>1775</sup> Ind. Ant., XV.

<sup>1776</sup> Corp. Ins., Vol. III. p. 216.

<sup>1777</sup> Mahābhārata, Ādiparba, 100th and 103rd adhyāyas.

<sup>1978</sup> Ibid., 109th adhyāya. 1778 Ibid., 180th adhyāya.

Bṛhaṣpati-niti to the princes. 1780 King Suddodhana 1781 appointed Sabbamitta as tutor to his son Gautama. Similarly, Balāditya (Samudragupta ?) and Mahīpāla had Vasubandhu 1782 and Rājašekhara respectively as their tutors. King Harṣa of Kashmere appointed Kanaka, (Kalhaṇa's uncle) as his tutor in music to whom he gave a lac of gold dīnnāras as tuition-fee (Rājatarangiṇī, VII. 1117-18). King Jayāpīḍa of Kashmere had Kṣīra as his tutor in grammar (Stein—The Chronicles of Kashmere, Vol. I. p. 165 and 165 foot-note).

The education of the prince was kept by the Brahmins closely in their hands. According to Manu<sup>1788</sup> teaching the Vedas shall never revert to the kshatriya as against the brahmana. The injunction of Manu<sup>1784</sup> that the king should learn from the people the theory of the various trades and professions seems to imply that in the subject of Vartta others besides Brahmins might be called in to give instruction to the young princes and this would seem probable also in the matter of military skill. Viśwamitra thus gave to Rama a training in the use of missiles and weapons; 1785 yet brahmana control dominated throughout. We are told that Rama's teachers are aged brahmanas who have seen the true import of Dharma. 1786 Drona a Brahmin taught military arts to the Kauravas and the Pandavas, 1787 Drona also taught military art to a king of the Andhaka family and to many princes. 1788 Bhisma was taught the Vedas and the Vedangas by Vasistha, a Brahmin. (Mahabharata, Adiparba, 100th and 103rd adhyayas). The brothers of Draupadi were taught Brhaspati-niti by a brahmin resident-tutor. 1789 King Janaka learnt Brahmavidya from various brahmana acharyas. 1790 King Brhadratha learnt Brahmavidya from the brahmana ascetic Sakayana. 1791 King

<sup>1780</sup> Ibid., Banaparba, 32nd adhyāya.

<sup>1481</sup> Milinda-Panha, IV. 6, 3.

<sup>1702</sup> Paramartha's Life of Vasubandhu.

<sup>1783</sup> X. 77.

<sup>1704</sup> VII. 43.

<sup>1700</sup> Rāmāyapa, Bālakāņda, 27 and 28th sargas.

<sup>1700</sup> Ibid., Ayodbyākāņda, 1st sarga.

<sup>1787</sup> Mahābhārata, Ādiparba.

<sup>1900</sup> Ibid., 132nd adhyava.

<sup>1700</sup> Ibid., Banaparba, 182nd adhyaya.

<sup>1790</sup> Bihad. Up., IV. 1,

<sup>2752</sup> Maitre Up., 12.

Janaśruti learnt Brahmavidyā from the brahmaṇā Raikva. 1792 Prince Gautama was taught by nine teachers all of whom were Brahmins. 1793 In Kautilya's Arthaśāstra 1794 we are told: "That kṣhatriya breed which is brought up by Brahmins, is charmed with the counsels of good councillors and which faithfully follows the precepts of the śāstras becomes invincible and attains success, though unaided by weapons". Kanaka, the uncle of Kalhaṇa, a Brahmin gave lessons in music to king Harṣa of Kashmere. 1795 Kṣīra, Jayāpīḍa's teacher in grammar was a brāhmaṇa of the Rājanaka family of Kashmere. 1796 Al-Beruni 1797 speaks in the same strain: "The Brahmins teach the Veda to kṣhatriyas. The latter learn it but are not allowed to teach it even to a brāhmaṇa. 1798

In his town-planning scheme Kautilya has reserved for the royal teachers' residence a good site Says he: "Royal teachers, priests, sacrificial place, water reservoir and ministers shall occupy sites east by north to the palace". According to him 'they are to receive the sum of 48,000 papas per annum' which was also the pay of the minister, the commander of the army, the heir-apparent prince, the mother of the king and the queen. With this amount for their subsistence, they will scarcely yield themselves to temptation and hardly be discontented. 1801

Tod in his Rājasthān<sup>1802</sup> in referring to these purchita teachers gives rather a bad opinion of them as men who took advantage of their position to get gain for themselves by working on the superstition of their employers. But we need not suppose that this was generally the case and many of them were men of high character whose moral influence on their pupils was distinctly good. India has had many famous rulers, who were educated under this system and many who also attained to literary merit. Among these princes there also grew up a

<sup>1709</sup> Tbid.

<sup>1798</sup> Milinda Panha, IV. 6, 3.

<sup>1704</sup> R. Syāmaśāstri's Eng. Trans., p. 17

<sup>1798</sup> Rajatarangini, VII. 1117.

<sup>3798</sup> Stein-The Chronicles of Kashmere, Vol. I. p. 165 and 165 foot-note.

<sup>1707</sup> Sachau's Eng. Trans., Vol. I. p. 125.

Compare the remark of king Ajātaśatru: Pratilomarūpameba brāhmapamupanayeta (Kauś. Up., IV. 1. 19).

<sup>2700</sup> Arthasastra (R. Syamasastri's Eng. Trans.), p. 61.

<sup>1800</sup> Ibid., p. 307.

<sup>1001</sup> Tbid.

<sup>1002</sup> Page 407.

spirit of chivalry, very much like that which prevailed in Europe in the Middle Ages. 1808 Tod mentions that amongst the Rajput tribes, youthful candidates were initiated to military fame in much the same way as young men in Europe in the Middle Ages became knights. The ceremony of initiation was called Kharg bandai or binding of the sword and took place when the young Rajput was considered fit to bear arms. The spirit of chivalry thus inculcated must have set before these young princes and nobles a high ideal of valour and virtue and this is reflected in the Epics and in the bardic chronicles of Rājasthāna which contain many stories of noble deeds and knightly heroism.

Indeed, the education of the Indian princes was not inferior to that of the European Knights in the Age of Chivalry. No doubt the note of personal ambition and of adventure for adventure's sake seems much less prominent in the Indian ideal than in the European but the gentler virtues such as patience and filial devotion were much more emphasised as we see in the story of Rama. The idea that the king and the prince had a duty to perform to society in the protection of the weak and that their position was not one so much of glory and of ease as of service to others, is very prominent. Thus Viśwamitra in exhorting Rāma to kill Tārakā says: "Do not feel it impious to kill a female. For the good of the four varpas this is enjoined for the princes. One who has taken over the charge of the protection of the people should perform all kinds of deeds, however cruel, sinful and infamous they might be, if thereby, he would keep in safety his subjects". 1804 Rama on hearing Sita's words dissuading him from undertaking the task of ridding Dandakaranya of Raksasas who are killing innocent hermits living therein, thus says to her: "You yourself have just said that the kshatriya should take the bow and the arrow so that the word 'artta' (unprotected) should not remain in this earth. hermits of Dandakaranya have approached me seeking my protection against these Raksasas".1805 No doubt many of them failed to live up to this noble ideal but in formulating it and holding it before the young princes India has much of-which to be proud.

<sup>1808</sup> Rajasthan, pp. 63, 512.

<sup>1804</sup> Rāmāyaņa, Bālakāņda, 25th sarga.

<sup>2008</sup> Ibid , Ārapyakāņda, 10th sarga.

## CHAPTER XI.

## THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN ANCIENT INDIA.

## § 1. THE PARISADS.

From the most ancient times there existed in India Brahminic settlements and in connection with them Parisads or assemblies of learned brahmanas who gave decisions on all points connected with the Brahminic religion and learning. We have already referred (ante, pp. 55-57) to these Parisads as seats of learning and have seen that not only were different faculties represented but even a student was a member of the Parisad. The settlement of brahmanas proficient in different branches of the ancient learning in various centres must have meant the gathering together also of a number of students who received instruction from them and thus these Parisads would form the nucleus of something corresponding to a University.

## § 2. TAXILA.

An instance of an early Brahminic intellectual centre was Taksasila. This town is now represented by more than twelve square miles of ruins to the north-west of Rawalpindi and the south-east of of Hasan Abdal. 1806 The site according to Sir John Marshall, embraces three separate cities namely, the Bir Mound to the south which was in occupation from the earliest times say 1500 B. C. until the close of the Maurya domination about 180 B. C.; secondly, the city known as Sir Kap further north, which is believed to have been founded by the Greek invaders in the first half of the second century B. C. and to have been occupied by the Greeks and their successors, the Scythians and Parthians until about 70 A. D.; and thirdly, the city of Sir Sukh, still further north, to which there is reason to believe the capital was transferred from Sir Kap by the Kushanas. Thus, within four Taxila became subject to five centuries. different empires—the Macedonian, the Mauryan, the Bactrian, the Parthian and the Kushana

<sup>2006</sup> V. A. Smith-Early History of India, third edition, p. 61.

and from these widely different civilisations, extending from Greece to Western China and from the steppes of Russia to the Bay of Bengal it must have inherited much of the culture and of the arts peculiar to each. We are told in the Rāmāyana 1807 that Vyabahāra (Law) was a specialised subject at Taxila. The Mahabharata also refers to Taksasila as a noted seat of learning. The story is told of one of its teachers named Dhaumya who had three disciples named Upamanyu, Aruni and Veda. Aruni hailed from Panchala and was an ideal student in respect of devotion to his teacher under whose orders, in order to stop a lcakage in the water-course in his field, Aruni, finding every other means unavailing, threw his hody into the breach. We learn from the Dhammapadātthakathā 1808 that a student went to Taxila from Benares for studying the silpas and had 500 class-mates. According to the same work 1809 Pascnadi, king of Kosala was educated at Taxila. The Mahavagga1810 has reference to teachers at Taxila, to whom students were going for the study of the śilpas. From the Mahavagga 1811 we also learn that Jivaka, the renowned physician at at the court of Bimbisara, was educated in medicine and surgery at Taxila. So much reputation had been gained by Taxila as a centre of learning that we are told by Pāninī 1812 that Taksasila as the surname of a person denoted that his ancestors had lived at Taxila, while the Mahabharata 1818 declares the men of Taxila to be unrivalled in discussions on matters of learning. The Jataka stories are equally full of references to the fame of Taxila as a University town. 1814 The great grammarian Pāņinī and Chānakya, the minister of Chandragupta Maurya are said to have had their education in Taxila. Here at the time of Alexander's invasion the Greeks first came into contact with the brahmana philosophers and were astonished at their asceticism and strange doctrines. In the days of Asoka the Great, Taxila was "one of the greatest and most splendid cities of the East and enjoyed special

u. 1807 Uttarakāņda, 101, 11.

you. 1000 Ibid., I. p 211.

<sup>1001</sup> VIII. 3.

<sup>100 1</sup> Adiparba, III. 172.

<sup>1808</sup> Pali Text Society's edition, L. 250.

<sup>1810</sup> Mahabansa, VIII. 1, 5 and 6.

<sup>1812</sup> Papini, IV. 3. 93.

I. 273, 317, 402, 406, 431, 447, 468; II. 277; IV. 38; V. 127; VI. 347 etc.

reputation as the headquarters of Hindu learning. The sons of peoples of all the upper classes, chiefs, brahmanas and merchants flocked to Taxila as to a University town, in order to study the circle of Indian arts and sciences, especially Medicine." At the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit "the brahmanas of this town are well-grounded in their literary work and are of high renown for their talents, well-informed as to things (men and things) and of a vigorous understanding (memory)."

The fame of Taxila as a seat of learning was mainly due to that of its teachers. Of one such teacher we read: 'youths of the warrior and the brāhmaņa caste came from all India to be taught the arts by him.' 1818 They are always spoken of as being 'world-renowned,' being authorities, specialists and experts in the subjects they taught. And it was the presence of scholars of such acknowledged excellence and wide-spread reputation that caused a steady movement of qualified students drawn from all classes and ranks of society towards Taxila from far off Benares, 1816 Rajagrha, 1817 Mithilā, 1818 Lālhya country, 1819 Ujjain, 1820 Kośala, 1821 and the Sivi and Kuru Kingdoms in the 'North Country', 1822 thus enabling it to exercise a kind of intellectual suze-reignty over the wide world of letters in India.

The students are always spoken of as going to Taxila to 'complete' their education and not to begin it. 1823 They are invariably sent at the age of sixteen 1824 or when they 'come of age.' This shows that Taxila was the seat not of elementary, but of secondary and higher education. The age limit for admission there was curiously enough the same as is prescribed by modern Universities. Moreover, only

<sup>1015</sup> Jātaka III. 158

<sup>1816</sup> Jataka I. 272, 285, 409; II. 85, 87; IV. 50, 224; V. 263, 127 etc.

<sup>1817</sup> Ibid., III. 238; V. 177, 247.

district in Bengal. (J. A. S. B., New series, Vol. VI., 1910. p. 604.

<sup>1820</sup> Ibid., IV. 392. 1521 Ibid. III. 115.

<sup>1818</sup> Ibid., V. 210; V. 457; III. 399; I. 356.

<sup>1038</sup> In Jätaka IV. 38 we are told that the son of a poor woman of a caravan, a merchant's son and the son of a tailor in the employ of the merchant "all grew up together and by and by went to Taxila to complete their education".
Jätaka I. 285.

the students of a maturer age could be sent so far away from their homes for the furtherence of their studies.

The students of Taxila were quite a heterogenous lot, drawn from all ranks and classes of society and representing diverse social conditions. Chandalas, however, were not admitted as students, for, we are told in the Cittasambhūti Jataka 1825 that two Chandala boys who disguised as brāhmanas came to Taxila to study law but betrayed themselves by their coarse language and manners when one of them burnt his mouth at a dinner were at once expelled.

While all castes except the Chandalas were admitted to instruction it seems that the castes so admitted did not always confine themselves to their traditional subjects of study. We read of a Brahmin boy of Taxila who learnt divination under his teacher. Another Brahmin boy studied magic charms. Another is spoken of as having gone in for the liberal arts and ultimately specialised in archery. It is again a Brahmin boy that studies 'the charm which commands all things of sense.' There is a reference to a Brahmin boy choosing 'science' for his study and to another mastering the three Vedas and the eighteen accomplishments. 1826

No doubt the poorer students who could not pay their tuition fees had to undergo a course of menial service for the school (see ante, pp. 119-20) but the recognition of the dignity of all honest labour secured to them a status of equality with its aristocratic section. What further levelled down all distinctions within the school was the insistence upon certain standards of simplicity and discipline in life to which all its members had to submit. The Prince Brahmadatta of Benares 1827 is sent on to Taxila for his studies with the modest equipment given him by his royal father of "a pair of onesoled sandals, a sunshade of leaves, and a thousand pieces of money" as his teacher's fees, of which not a single pice he could retain for his private use. Thus the prince enters his school as a poor man, divested of all riches. The same fact is pointed out by the story of Prince Junha of Benares, 1828 who accidentally

<sup>1000</sup> Jataka IV. 391

<sup>2000</sup> Jataka II. 200; II. 99; III. 219; IV. 456; III. 18; II. 87; III. 115, 129.

<sup>2007</sup> Jataka No. 252, 2007 Jataka IV. 96.

breaking the alms-bowl of a Brahmin by colliding with him in nocturnal darkness, was asked to pay him the price of a meal as compensation. The prince then said to the Brahmin: "I cannot now give you the price of a meal, Brahmin; but I am Prince Junha, son of the king of Kāśi, and when I go to my kingdom, you may come to me and ask for the money." Thus while at school a king's son was as poor as the son of a peasant.

Of the subjects taught the three Vedas and the eighteen vijjās (vidyās) are frequently mentioned. In the Bhīmsena Jātaka<sup>1829</sup> there is a description of how the Bodhisattva learnt the three Vedas and the eighteen vijjās. In the Kosiya Jātaka<sup>1830</sup> we are told that Bodhisattva being born in a Brahmin family studied the three Vedas and the eighteen vijjās at Taxila. In the Dhummedha Jātaka<sup>1831</sup> it is stated that at the age of sixteen Bodhisattva went to Taxila and mastered the eighteen vijjās. In the Asadisa Jātaka<sup>1832</sup> we find that the Bodhisattva mastered the three Vedas and the eighteen vijjās. In many other Jātakas,<sup>1833</sup> we find that Bodhisattva studied the three Vedas and the eighteen vijjās. The invariable mention of the three Vedas shows that the study of Atharvaveda was not included in the curriculum of studies. The Vedas were of course to be learnt by heart. We are told of a teacher of Taxila from whose lips 500 brāhmaņa pupils learnt the Vedas.<sup>1834</sup>

Of the conventional eighteen vijjas archery was one. In the Bhimsena Jataka<sup>1835</sup> we learn that Bodhisattva learnt archery at Taxila. In the Asadisa Jātaka<sup>1836</sup> we are told that Bodhisattva learnt archery at Taxila and got himself appointed as the archer of a king at whose orders he brought down a mango from the top of a tree with his bow and arrow. From the Sarabhanga Jātaka<sup>1337</sup> we learn that Bodhisattva learnt archery at Taxila and gave exhibition of many feats

<sup>1828</sup> Jätaka I. 356.

<sup>1000</sup> Jataka I. 463.

<sup>1881</sup> Jataka I. 285.

<sup>2839</sup> Jätaka II. 87.

<sup>3888</sup> Jātaka I. 505, 510; III. 115, 122; IV. 200.

<sup>1884</sup> Jataka I. 402.

<sup>1888</sup> Jataka I. 356.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Jätaka II. 87.

<sup>1887</sup> Jataka V. 127.

before the king of the country of his birth. He pierced a plank eight fingers thick, an iron sheet one finger thick, a cart full of earth and sand, etc. He was further requested to show more feats, viz., faralatthi (stick of arrows), śararajjum (a rope of arrows) śaraveni (a row of arrows) sarapasada (a palace of arrows), saramandapa (a pavilion of arrows), sarasopana (a ladder of arrows), sarapokharani (a tank of arrows), sarapadumam (a lotus of arrows) and saravassam (a flight of arrows). The Panchavyuha Jataka 1838 also refers to the military training of Bodhisattva, a son of Brahmadatta, king of Benares. Indeed Taxila was famous for its military schools. One such school 1839 could boast of counting all the then princes throughout India numbering 103 as its students. In this connection we may refer to the story of the brahmana boy of Benares Jyotipala by name who was sent to Taxila at the king's expense for education in archery When he had finished his training and was returning home, the teacher presentel him with his own sword, a bow and arrow, a coat of mail and a diamond and asked him to take his place as the head of 500 pupils to be trained up by him in the military arts as he was himself old and wanted to retire. 1840

Another branch of learning taught at Taxila was snake-charming. In the Compoyya Jātaka<sup>1841</sup> it is stated that a young Brahmin learnt Alambanamantam (mantra for charming snakes) at Taxila.

Religious ceremonials seem to have been taught at Taxila. In the Susima Jataka<sup>1842</sup> we are told that Bodhisattva was once born as the son of a hatthimangalakarako. When the king wished to perform hatthimangala ceremony, his ministers requested him to choose a priest from among the elderly Brahmins. Upon this Bodhisattva's mother became sorry and young Bodhisattva coming to know the cause of his mother's sorrow enquired as to where he would be able to learn Hattisuttam. Being told about Taxila he went there, learnt Hattisuttam and took part in the royal ceremony.

<sup>1000</sup> Jataka I. 273.

<sup>2040</sup> Jitaka V. 127.

<sup>1042</sup> Játaka II. 47.

<sup>1000</sup> Jataka V. 457.

<sup>1841</sup> Jataka IV. 456.

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Certain occult sciences were also taught. In the Vrahachatta Jataka 1848 it is related how a son of the king of Kośala leart Nidhi-uddhāranamantam at Taxila and then found out the hidden treasure of his father with which he hired mercenaries and reconquered the lost kingdom of his father. We hear of pupils at Taxila, learning magic charms, spell for bringing back the dead to life, spell for understanding animal cries, the art of prognostication, charm for commanding all things of sense and divining from the signs on the body. 1844

√ According to the Ramāyaṇa¹²²²⁵ Vyabahāra (Law) was a specialised subject of study at Taxila. This is also evident from the Chittasambhūti Jātaka¹²³⁵ where we learn of two chaṇḍāla boys who came from far off Ujjain to Taxila to learn Law in the guise of brāhmaṇa pupils.

Taxila, however, was specially reputed for its school of Medicine. 1847 Jivaka, 1848 the physician of Bimbiszra, studied Medicine here under the great rsi professor Atreya. 1849 The study of Medicine seems to have had both a theoretical and practical course. The theoretical course consisted of a study of the texts on Medicine and Surgery while the practical course included a first hand study of plants to find out their medicinal values, as shown in the account of Jivaka's education. We may also refer to the successful surgical operations executed by Jivaka as soon as he had left Taxila on finishing his education, for they show that he must have had a previous practical training in such difficult operations.

The colleges at Taxila seem to have had a number of sittings every day. The poorer students who paid for the expense of their education by the performance of menial work for the school during the day could find time for study only in the nights when accordingly the

<sup>1848</sup> Jätaka III. 115-116.

<sup>1844</sup> Jätaka II. 100; I. 510; III. 415; III. 122; IV. 465; II. 200.

<sup>1848</sup> Ustarakānda 101, 11. 1848 IV. 391 (Jātaka No. 498).

<sup>1847</sup> Jätaka IV, 171.

<sup>1848</sup> Mahavagga (Vinaya Pitaka edited by Oldenburg), VIII. ?.

Bengali) refers to a Chinese prince who came to study Medic pp

teacher imparted instruction to them. 1850 It was probably convenient for the day-scholars to attend night classes: We read of Prince Junha who "one night, after he had been listening carefully to his teacher's instructions, left the house of his teacher in the dark and set out for home." 1851 Another student of Benares who went to Taxila for a particular instruction implored his teacher thus: "Give me your time for this night only. I will learn the whole after one lesson." 1858 As regards the students who paid their teachers fees, they were given 'schooling on every light and lucky day'. 1853

We have already referred to the theoretical and practical courses in Medicine at Taxila. Similarly, a practical turn was given to all instruction as a pedagogic principle. Thus we read of a brahmana student of a market-town in the North country who specialised in the science of archery at Taxila and after finishing his education went as far as the Andhra country in prosecution of the practical application of his art. A prince of Kośala is also mentioned who after studying the three Vedas and eighteen liberal arts at Taxila left the place to study the practical uses of these sciences learned. Lastly, there is an instance in which a student, on the completion of his education in the arts at Taxila and returning home to Benares had to exhibit before his parents a practical demonstration of the technical knowledge he had acquired. Thus the University reacted on the villages and preserved the artistic capacities and traditions of the people.

Many other educational institutions are frequently referred to in the Jatakas c. g., in I. 234 (Losaka Jataka); I. 317: I. 402; I. 447; I. 463; I. 510; II. 48; III. 122; III. 537 (Tittira Jataka); IV. 391; bec V. 128; V. 457. From the Jatakas we learn that some these institutions motherwise maintained partly by the honorariums paid by the sons of the Hattisut althy members of the society 1856 and partly by the scholarships and took P ded to students by the states to which they belonged. Sometimes

<sup>1888</sup> Jätaka I. 2taka II. 278,

<sup>1000</sup> Jataka V. 127, II. 47.

<sup>1042</sup> Jilaka II. 47. 356.

<sup>1851</sup> Jataka IV. 96.

<sup>1818</sup> Jataka No. 252.

<sup>1888</sup> Jataka III. 115.

<sup>&</sup>quot;9, 285; IV. 50, 224 etc. 1087 Jataka V, 263; III. 288, V. 247; V, 127.

the students had a common mess<sup>1858</sup> but when they were too poor a charitable community came forward to provide for them a free education. <sup>1859</sup> It is worthy of note that not only religious treatises like the three Vedas<sup>1860</sup> but also the various secular arts and sciences were cultivated in these centres of education. Instead of the three Vedas, we sometimes find mention of sacred texts, <sup>1861</sup> holy books<sup>1862</sup> or the law. <sup>1868</sup> Some of these terms may indicate the sacred literature of the Buddhists. We find even the direct mention of a Vinaya scholar and a Sütra scholar. <sup>1864</sup>

Side by side with institutions of a heterogenous composition, we also find references to colleges of particular communities only. Teachers with 500 pupils all Brahmins are frequently mentioned. Sometimes teachers would have only brāhmaṇa and kṣhatriya pupils. We also read of a teacher at Taxila whose school had on its rolls only princes as pupils—"all princes who were at that time in India to the number of 101", besides two other princes newly admitted from the kingdoms of Kuru and Benares. 1865

# § 3. THE HERMITAGES.

Other centres of learning were the hermitages of one or more renowned sages living in the forests.

The hermitage of Valmiki was at Chitrakuta hill. 1866 It was situated on the bank of the river Tamasā. 1867 According to Bhababhūti 1868 it was situated on the Ganges. According to Somadeva 1869 it was situated not far from a spot called Panchabatī. Here Rama and his party were entertained. 1870 When Satrughna.

<sup>1888</sup> Jātaka I. 317; IV. 391. 1889 Jātaka I. 239 (Losaka Jātaka); I. 317; III. 17

<sup>1860</sup> Jātaka I. 402; I. 259. 1861 Jātaka III. 235.

<sup>1008</sup> Jātaka IV. 293. 1808 Jātaka IV. 392.

<sup>1864</sup> Jataka III. 486. 1865 Jataka I. 317, 402, 436; III. 158; V. 4

<sup>1866</sup> Rāmāyaņa, Ayodhyākānda, 56th sarga. 1867 Ibid., Uttarakāndā, 45t

<sup>1866</sup> Uttara-Rāma-Charita, Acts. IV. and V; Belvalkar's Eng. Trans., pp. ?

<sup>1848</sup> Kathäsariteägara, Penzer's edition, Vol. I. p. 166.

<sup>1876</sup> Ramayana, Ayodhyakanda, 56th sarga.

came to stay here for one night while on his expedition against Lavana, Vālmiki related to him how this hermitage was connected with King Saudies of the family of Raghu. 1871 Many students resided in this hermitage of whom Varadwaja who was proficient in sastric knowledge was one.1878 In this hermitage Kusa and Lava were taught the Vedas, the art of music, sthana and murchbana-tattva and the Ramayana, 1878 The Raghuvansam of Kalidasa also refers to this hermitage of Valmiki1874 whose pupils brought Sita before king Rama, 1875 In this hermitage Valmiki taught the twin sons of Rama the Vedas and the Vedangas 1876 as also the art of singing. 1877 In Act IV. Scene I of Bhababhūti's Uttara-Rāma-Charita. 1878 one of the pupils admires the beauty of the hermitage which is now putting on its best appearance to welcome some venerable guests. The other is delighted at the thought that the guests bring with them also a holiday for the school. In the course of their conversation it transpires that the guests are no other than Arundhati, Vasistha and the Queen-mother, who on the conclusion of Rsysringa's twelve year sacrifice have repaired to Valmiki's hormitage. Among the day's guests there is also Janaka, Sita's father, come on a friendly visit to Valmiki. In Act II. Scene I we are told that Atreyi was a fellow-student of Kusa and Lava in this hermitage. She tells us that was soon as Kusa and Lava had gone through the chaula ceremony Valmiki assiduously grounded them with the exception of the three Vedas—in the three other branches of knowledge. And then when the boys had reached the eleventh year from their conception, they were invested with the sacred thread and instructed in the knowledge of the three Vedas also".1879

The hermitage of Anangadeva was at the confluence of the Ganges bec, and the Saraju. The virtuous munis living there were the students mother Anangadeva. It was visited by Viśwamitra, accompanied by Rāma Hattisut. Lakamana.

and took p.

. Thid., Utterakānda, 65th sarga.

<sup>1000</sup> Jataka I. 24. 4th sarga.

<sup>2040</sup> Jitaka V. 127. V. 69.

<sup>1040</sup> Jitaka II. 47.

<sup>1819</sup> Ibid., Bālakāņda, 2nd sarga,

<sup>1874</sup> Canto XIV. 38,

<sup>1874</sup> Canto XV. 83.

<sup>1878</sup> Belvalker's Eng. Trens., p. 60.

The hermitage of Vasistha was also visited by Viswamitra who accepting the hospitality enquired about the welfare of Agnihotra students, their penance, and the trees. 1880 It was also visited by King Dasaratha. 1881 The pristine grandeur of this hermitage is evident from its graphic description preserved in the Bālakanda, 51st Sarga. The Mahābharata 1889 also refers to this hermitage.

The hermitge of Varadwāja was near the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna. 1888 The way to Ayodhyā from this hermitage was only three yojanas off. 1884 Chitrakūta hill was only twenty miles off from this place. 1888 Rāma and his party stayed here on their way to Chitrakūta. 1886 On their way to Ayodhyā after undergoing their period of banishment Rāma and his party stayed here. 1887 When Bharata and his councillors reached this hermitage on their way to Chitrakūta in search of Rāma, Varadwāja ordered his students to make arrangements for their reception. 1888 Varadwāja had a great friend in king Pṛṣathanāmā whose son Drupad was sent to this hermitage for education. Varadwāja was succeeded in this hermitage by his son Dropa. The latter was a fellow-pupil of Drupad and was taught the Vedas and Vedāngas in this hermitage. 1889

The hermitage of Sukra was in the kingdom of Rājā Daņḍa which was situated between the Vindhyā mountain and Saivala. Sukra lived in this place, accompanied by many students. King Daṇḍa himself was one of Sukra's students.

The hermitage of Rajarşi Trnabindu<sup>1893</sup> was by the side of the great mountain Sumeru. In this place Brahmarşi Pulastya who was

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1880 Rāmāyaņa, Bālakāņda, 51st and 52nd sargas.
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<sup>2001</sup> Ibid., Uttarakāṇḍa, 51st sarga. 1882 Banaparba, 101st adhyāya.

<sup>1888</sup> Rāmāyaņa, Ayodhyākānda, 54th and 89th sargas.

Yuddhakānda, 125th sarga.

1884 Yuddhakānda, 125th sarga.

1884 Yuddhakānda, 125th sarga.

1884 Yuddhakānda, 125th sarga.

<sup>1688</sup> Ayodhyākāņda, 90th sarga.

<sup>1889</sup> Mahabharata, Adiparva, 130th and 166th adhyayse.

<sup>2002</sup> Utterskäpde, 79th serge.
2002 Utterskäpde, 80th serge.
2003 Utterskäpde, 80th serge.

proficient in Vedic learning (swadhyāya) used to recite the Vedas. His son Viśrabā was like him proficient in the Vedas.

The hermitage of Agastya was on the bank of the Saraju near its confluence with the Ganges. 1894 When Rama and his party visited it, Agastya, being informed of their arrival by one of his students, received them, being surrounded by his students. 1895 The Mahabharata also refers to this hermitage which was visited by King Yudhisthir. 1896 The Raghuvamsam1897 also refers to this hermitage and locates it near Panchavati on the banks of the Godavari. 1898 Bana in his Kadambari locates it in the Vindhyan forests and says that the hermitage has long Bhababhūti in his Uttara-Rama-Charita 1900 been empty. 1899 refers to this hermitage and locates it in the Dandaka forest. "Here in this region are dwelling-with Agastya at their head-many scholars learned in the Samaveda. To acquire from them Upanisad lore, hither have I come" says Atreyi. She then explains why although studying at Valmiki's she is compelled to travel southwards in search of instruction: because (1) she could not keep pace with Kusa and Lava and (2) Vālmiki himself was much occupied with the composition of a new poem, the Rāmāyana. Rājašekhara is his Karpūramanjurī 1901 also refers to this hermitage.

The Dandakaranya forest was studded with many such hermitages. 1902

They are resounding with the incessant muttering of the Vedas. 1905

Thus in this forest there were the hermitage of Swarabhanga, 1904

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1894</sup> Āraņyakāṇḍa, 12th sarga. The Bombay edition of the Rāmāyaṇa (IV. 41. 15) locates the hermitage of Agastya on a crest of the Mālābār range but a later stansa (34) of the same canto puts the dwelling of Agastya on Mount Kuñjara in Ceylon.

<sup>1000</sup> Ārapyakāpda, 12th sarga.

<sup>1897</sup> Canto XIII. 36.

<sup>1998</sup> Raghuvamsam, Canto XIII. 34-36.

<sup>1000</sup> Belvalkar's Eng. Trans., pp. 31-33.

<sup>1001</sup> Konow and Lanman's edition, p. 228.

<sup>1006</sup> Ibid., 1st sarga.

Banaparva, 96th, 97th, 98th and 99th adhyāyas.

<sup>1\*\*\*</sup> C. M. Ridding's Eng. Trans., pp. 18-20.

<sup>1902</sup> Rāmāyapa, Ārapyakāpda, 1st, 8th and 11th sargas.

<sup>1004</sup> Ibid., 5th sarga; Kälidäss in his Raghuvamiam (Canto XIII. 45) also refers to this hermitage.

the hermitage of Sutighna, 1905 the hermitage of Maharsi Idhmabāha, 1906 Nyagrodhāśrama, 1907 the hermitage of Bāmanadeva 1908 which Viśwāmitra made his own (otherwise known as Siddhāśrama), 1909 the hermitage of Maharsi Mātanga 1910 the hermitage of tāpasi Sabari on the western bank of the river Pampā 1911 and the hermitage of the seven sages called Saptajana. 1912

Besides these there were the hermitages of Gautama in the forest near Mithila, the capital of King Janaka, 1918 the hermitage of Maharsi Atrī, not far off from Chitrakūta hill, 1914 and the hermitage of Maharsi Niśākara. 1918

In the opening verses of the Mahābhārata, there is a reference to the hermitage of Vyāsa, the son of Satyabatī and author of the Mahābhārata. In this hermitage "Vyāsa taught the Vedas to his disciples. Those disciples were the highly blessed Sumanta, Vaiśampāyana, Jaiminī of great wisdom and Paila of great ascetic merit." They were afterwards joined by Suka, the famous son of Vyāsa. 1916 After composing the Mahabhārata Vyāsa was thinking how he could teach it to his pupils. At last he taught it to Vaiśampāyana who recited it at the snake-sacrifice performed by Janmejaya. 1917

✓In Vyāsa Saṃhitā<sup>1918</sup> we find a reference to the hermitage of Vedavyāsa at Benares where a body of sages asked the latter questions regarding the duties of the members of different social orders (varṇas). The answers are embodied in the Vyāsa Saṃhitā.

<sup>1905</sup> Rāmāyaņa, Āraņyakāṇḍa, 5th, 7th, 8th and 11th sargas; Kālidāsa in his Raghuvaṇśam (Canto XIII, 41) also refers to this hermitage.

<sup>1906</sup> Ibid., Āraņyakāņdā, 11th sarga.

<sup>1907</sup> Ibid., 13th sarga.

<sup>1008</sup> Ibid., 38th sarga.

<sup>1909</sup> Ibid., Bālakāṇḍa, 29th sarga.

<sup>1919</sup> Ibid., Āraņyakānda, 73rd sarga; Kiṣkiñdbyākānda, 11th sarga. The Katbāsarit-sāgara (Penzer, V. 202; VII. 144, 145, 149, 151, 152, 156) also refers to this hermitage.

<sup>1001</sup> Ibid., Kişkifidhyākānda, 18th sarga.

<sup>1919</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1010</sup> Ibid., Bālakāṇḍa, 48th sarga.

<sup>1914</sup> Ibid., Ayodhyākānda, 117th sarga,

<sup>1028</sup> Ibid., Kişkindhyakanda, 61st sarga.

<sup>1916</sup> Mahābhārata, XII. 328.

<sup>1917</sup> Mahabharata, Anukramanikadhyaya,

<sup>1010</sup> Ch. I. 6le. 1-2.

The Parzsara Samhitā<sup>1919</sup> refers to the hermitage of the holy Vyāsa in the forest of Devadāru on the summit of the Himalayas where he was asked by a body of sages to relate to them the rules of good conduct, cleanliness and religious rites which may be beneficially followed and observed by men in this age of Kali.<sup>1920</sup> Vyāsa, well-versed in the Srutis and Smṛtis asked them to go to his father Parāśara's hermitage at Badarikā. Then the sages with the holy Vyāsa at their head went to Parāśara and the latter's reply to their questions is embodied in the Parāśara Samhitā.<sup>1921</sup>

A beautiful description of the hermitage of Parzsara at Badarikz is preserved in the Parzsara Samhitz. The Mahabharata 1923 refers to Bhagwana Visnu's hermitage at Badarika which was visited by Yudhisthir and his party. Bana's Kadambari and Somadeva's Katha-aritezgara 1925 also refers the hermitage of Badarika.

There was also the hermitage of Devasarma whose favourite pupil was Bipula. 1926 Another hermitage was that of Samika, one of whose pupils was Gouramukha. 1927 Another hermitage was that of Maharsi Uddālaka one of whose pupils Kahora read with him for many years and served him so faithfully that Uddālaka gave him his own daughter in marriage. 1928 The hermitage of Viśwamitra was on the banks of the Kauśikā. 1929 The hermitage of Maharsi Baka was resounding with the recitation of Vedic hymns. 1930 The hermitage of Subrata was in the land watered by the Drsadbatī. 1931 There were also the hermitages of Saradbāna, 1932 Chyaban, 1933 Svetaketu, 1934 Maharsi Sthūlasīra, 1935 Maharsi

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<sup>2000</sup> Tbid., 61. 2.

<sup>1021</sup> Ch. I. sis. 4-5, and 18.

<sup>1989</sup> Ibid., sls. 6-7.

<sup>1998</sup> Banaparba, 144th adhyava.

<sup>2024</sup> C. M. Ridding's Eng. Trans., p. 216.

<sup>1998</sup> Penzer, Vol. I. pp. 58, 59, 79; Vol. II. p. 36.

<sup>1926</sup> Mahabharata, Anusasanaparba, 40th adhyaya.

<sup>1997</sup> Ibid., Adiparba, 41st adhyāya.

<sup>1958</sup> Ibid., Banaparba, 181st adhyaya.

<sup>1989</sup> Toid., Adiparba 71st and 72nd adhyāyas; Banaparba, 109th adhyāya.

<sup>1000</sup> Ibid., Salyaparba, 42nd adhyāya.

<sup>1981</sup> Ibid., Banaparba, 90th adhyaya.

<sup>2052</sup> Ibid., Adiparba, 130th adhyāya.

<sup>1988</sup> Ibid., Banaparba, 101st adhyāya,

<sup>1984</sup> Ibid., 181st adhyaya,

<sup>1988</sup> Ibid., 189rd adhyaya.

Raivya, 1986 Yavakṛta, 1987 Baiśrabaṇa, 1988 Bṛṣaparbā, 1989 and Āstir-ṣeṇa. 1940 The Mahābhārata also refers to many hermitages on the banks of the Bhogabatī, 1941 the Godāvarī, 1842 Beṇwā, 1948 the Bhāgirathī, 1944 the Payoṣṇī 1945 the Narmadā, 1946 and the Viśwāmitra (river). 1947

The hermitage of Kāsyapa was situated on the bank of the Kausiki, near Viśwāmitra's hermitage 1948 and Kāsyapa's son Rṣyaśringa used to study the Vedas under his father. 1949 The Kathāsaritsāgara 1950 also refers to this hermitage.

The hermitage of Kakṣasena was on the bank of the Viśwamitra river. 1951

We get, however, a somewhat detailed account of the hermitage of Maharsi Kanva. It was situated on the bank of the Mālinī river 1952 (ante, p. 59). The Mahābhārata has preserved a beautiful description of the natural beauty of the hermitage. The course of studies carried on here has been described in a previous chapter. The Kathāsaritsāgara 1953 narrates the story of king Chandravaloka who on reaching this hermitage in the course of a hunting expedition was advised by Kanva to give up "the cruel sport of death"; on the king's promise to renounce hunting Kanva gave his daughter Indībarapravā in marriage to the king. The Kathāsaritsāgara 1954 also narrates the story of Vyāghrasena, minister of king Mṛgāñkadatta who came to this hermitage and was advised by Kanva not to be cowed down by misfortunes and was told that "those who endure with resolute hearts terrible misfortunes hard to struggle through, attain in this way the objects they most desire; but those others whose energies are paralysed by loss of courage, fail".

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1886 Ibid., 134th and 135th adhyayas.
                                             1987 Ibid., 137th adhyaya.
1988 Ibid., 155th adhyays.
                                             1989 Ibid.
1040 Ibid.
                                             1941 Ibid., 24th adhyaya,
1049 Ibid., 88th adhyaya.
                                             1048 Ibid.
1844 Ibid.
                                             1845 Ibid.
1946 Ibid., 89th adhyāya.
                                             1967 Ibid.
1040 Ibid., 109th and 110th adhyayas.
                                             1049 Ibid., 110th adhyaya.
2880 Penser, Vol. I. p. 161.
                                             1951 Mahabharata, Banaparba, 89th adhyaya.
2888 Ibid., Adiparba, 70th adhyaya.
                                              1988 Penser, Vol. VII. pp. 89-90,
1884 Ibid., p. 161; see also Ibid., III, p. 130,
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<sup>1000</sup> Tbid., 11. 2,

<sup>1991</sup> Ch. I. sls. 45, and 18.

<sup>1922</sup> Ibid., sls. 6-7.

<sup>1928</sup> Banaparba, 144th adhyāya,

<sup>1984</sup> C. M. Ridding's Eng. Trans., p. 216.

<sup>1005</sup> Penzer, Vol. I. pp. 58, 59, 79; Vol. II. p. 36.

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<sup>1989</sup> Ibid., Salyaparba, 42nd adhyāya.

<sup>1951</sup> Ibid., Banaparba, 90th adhyaya.

<sup>1082</sup> Ibid., Adiparba, 130th adhyaya.

<sup>1088</sup> Ibid., Banaparba, 101st adhyāya.

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1088 Tbid., 134th and 135th adhyayas.
                                             1987 Ibid., 137th adhyaya.
1056 Ibid., 155th adhyaya.
                                             1080 Ibid.
1040 Ibid.
                                             1961 Ibid., 24th adhyaya.
1042 Ibid., 88th adhyaya.
                                             1048 Tbid.
1044 Ibid.
                                             1965 Ibid.
1948 Ibid., 89th adhyaya.
                                              1967 Ibid.
1040 Ibid., 109th and 110th adhyayas.
                                             1949 Ibid., 110th adhyaya.
1050 Penser, Vol. I, p. 161.
                                             1851 Mahabharata, Banaparba, 89th adhyaya.
1969 Ibid., Adiparba, 70th adhyaya.
                                              1988 Penser, Vol. VII. pp. 89-90,
1084 Ibid., p. 161; see also Ibid., III. p. 180,
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The Mahabharata 1988 also refers to the hermitage in the Naimisa forest which was like a University. The presiding personality of the place was Saunaka to whom was applied the designation of kulapati, sometimes defined as the preceptor of ten thousand disciples. Saunaka attracted to Naimisa a vast concourse of learned men by his performance of a twelve years' sacrifice of which the most essential accompaniment was the discourses and disputations of learned men on religious, philosophical and scientific topics.

The wide range and variety of their studies are also indicated. There were specialists in each of the four Vedas; in sacrificial literature and art; in kalpasūtras; in the art of reciting the Samhitas, in ortheopy generally and in Siksa (phonetics) Chhanda (metrics) Sabda, Vyakarana and Nirutka. There were philosophers well-versed in Atma-vijnana (science of the Absolute), in Dharma (the way to salvation) and in Lokyata Vaišesika. There were Logicians knowing the principles of Nyaya and of Dialectics (the art of establishing propositions, solving doubts and ascertaining conclusions). There were also specialists in the physical sciences and arts, for example, experts in the art of constructing sacrificial altars of various dimensions and shapes (on the basis of a knowledge of Solid Geometry); those who had knowledge of the properties of matter (drabyguna), of physical processes and their results. of causes and their effects; and zoologists having a special knowledge of monkeys and birds. It was thus a forest University where the study of every branch of learning known and developed in those days was cultivated.

Among other hermitages noticed by the Mahābhārata may be mentioned that in the forest of Kāmyaka on the banks of the Saraswatī. 1957 But a hermitage near Kurukṣetra 1958 deserves special notice for the interesting fact recorded that it produced noted women hermits. There "leading from youth the vow of brahmacharya a Brahmin maiden was crowned with ascetic success" and ultimately acquiring yogic powers she become a tapas-siddhā, while another lady, the daughter

<sup>1988</sup> Mahžbhārata I. 1. 1.

<sup>1916</sup> See the commentary of Milakapta.

<sup>2004</sup> III. 183.

not of a Brahmin but of a kshatriya, a child not of poverty but of affluence, the daughter of a king, Sandilya by name, came to live there the life of celibacy and attained spiritual pre-eminence.

We have already referred (ante, pp. 57-58) to the hermitage of Alara Kalama where Gautama learnt some philosophical doctrines.

The Tittira Jātaka, as we have already seen, refers to such a hermitage. Such schools of spiritual culture are also referred to as being composed of the standard number of 500 ascetics gathering round the personality of an individual hermit. We have, however, references to schools of larger sizes. We read of one which was so overcrowded with zealous pupils that the chief had to get other hermitages established by his seven senior pupils to relieve the congestion but to no purpose, for the original or parent hermitage continued to be crowded as before with aspirants after the religious life. 1960

The hermitages were generally established in the Himalayas. Sometimes, however, bands of ascetics would establish themselves near the centres of population in view of the facilities so afforded for attracting recruits. We read of Svetaketu who after receiving his education first at Benares and then at Taxila comes in the course of his travel to a village where he meets a group of 500 ascetics who after ordaining him taught him all their "arts, texts and practices". 1981

The Raghuvamsam of Kalidasa has preserved a description of the hermitage of Atriles whose wife Anusuya was very kind to Sitales whom she gave very wholesome advice on the virtues of chastity. 1964

Eana in his Harsa-Charita refers to the hermitage of Bhairavāchārya which was situated near the city of Thāneswara in a Bel-tree plantation, contiguous with the woods on the banks of the Saraswatī. This sage is described by Bāṇa as "a second overthrower of Dakṣa's

<sup>1050</sup> Jataka I. 141 etc.

<sup>1980</sup> Jataka V. 128.

<sup>2461</sup> Jätaka I. 406, 431; III. 143; IV. 74; III. 115; IV. 193; III. 235.

<sup>1962</sup> Canto XIII. 50-52. 1962 Ibid., Canto XII. 27; XIV, 14.

<sup>2004</sup> Ramayana, Ayodhyakanda, 118th adhyaya.

<sup>1,068</sup> Harsacharita-Cowell and Thomas, pp. 86-87.

sacrifice," "whose powers, made famous by his excellence in multifarious sciences, were like his many thousands of disciples, spread abroad over the whole sphere of humanity." King Puspabhūti visited this hermitage where the king and his retinue were welcomed by the sage and his students. 1967

Bana in his Kadambari has given a graphic description of the hermitage of a great ascetic named Jabali. "Its precints were filled by munis entering on all sides, followed by pupils murmuring the Vedas, and bearing fuel, kuśa grass, flowers and earth."1968 "The young brahmanas were eloquent in reciting the Vedas; the parrot-race was garrulous with the prayer of oblation that they learnt by hearing it incessantly...... Leafy huts were being begun; courts smeared with paste and the inside of the huts scrubbed. Meditation was being firmly grasped, mantras duly carried out, Yoga practised and offerings made to woodland deities. Brahminical girdles of munja grass were being made, bark garments washed, fuel brought, deer-skins decked, grass gathered, lotus-seed dried, rosaries strung and bamboos laid in order for future need. Wandering ascetics received hospitality and pitchers were filled."1969 "Here the performance of śrāddha rites was taught; the science of sacrifice explained; 1970 the sastras of right conduct examined; good books of every kind recited; and the meaning of the sastras pondered."1971 After speaking of Jabali's penance Bana observes: "Happy is the hermitage where dwells this king of brahmanas. Nay rather happy is the whole world in being trodden by him who is the very Brahma of earth: Truly these sages enjoy the reward of their good deeds in that they attend him d, and night with no other duty, hearing holy stories and even fixing on him their steady gaze, as he were another Brahma. Happy is Saraswati who, encircled by his shining teeth and ever enjoying the nearness of his lotus mouth,

<sup>1060</sup> Ibid., p. 85.

<sup>~1907</sup> Ibid., pp. 87-88.

<sup>2400</sup> Kadambari-C. M. Ridding's Eng. Trans., p. 38.

<sup>1000</sup> Ibid., p. 39.

The Rāmāyaṇa (Bālakāṇḍa, 14th sarga) refers to men versed in Yajña-fastra who are constructing alters on the occasion of the celebration of a sacrifice by Dajaratha who was desirous of sons.

<sup>8071</sup> Kadambari-O. M. Ridding's Eng. Trans., p. 39.

dwells in his serene mind, with its unfathomable depths and its full stream of tenderness, like a hamsa on the Manasa lake. The four Vedas that have long dwelt in the four lotus-mouths of Brahma, find here their best and most fitting home. All the sciences which became turbid in the rainy season of the Iron age, become pure when they reach him, as rivers coming to autumn. Of a surety holy Dharma, having taken up his abode here, after quelling the riot of the Iron Age, no longer cares to recall the Golden Age." 1972

Hiuen Tsang also refers to such forest hermitages as seats of learning. The hermitage of Jayasena as described by him has already been referred to (ante, pp. 171-72). We are thus told of another hermitage: "On the west of the city (probably Lahore) on the north side of the road, there is a great forest of An-lo (Amra) trees; in this forest dwelt a brahmana of 700 years who in appearance was but thirty years old. His form and complexion were perfect. His understanding was of a divine character; his reasoning powers, superabundant. He had thoroughly investigated the Chung and Pih sastras (the Prapyamula and the Satasastra); he was eminent in the study of the Vedas and the other books. He had two followers, each of whom was aged 100 years or more............ Here he (Hiuen Tsang) remained for one month studying the Sutras, the Peh-lun (Satasastra), the Kwang-peh-lun (Satasastra vāipulyam). The author of this work (i. e., Deva Bodhisattva) was a disciple of Nagarjuna who himself having received the doctrines of his master explained them with clearness."1978

### § 4. SCHOOLS ATTACHED TO HINDU TEMPLES.

Besides these institutions there were also numerous schools attached to temples. One of the most interesting of such schools is mentioned in No. 202 of 1912<sup>1974</sup> which registers the gift of some land for the maintenance of a grammer-hall in the temple at

<sup>4079</sup> Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>1978</sup> Beal-Life of Hiuen Tsang, pp. 74-76.

<sup>1974</sup> Madras Epigraphist's Report for 1919-13, p. 110.

of half a kalanju of gold to each one of them. The Instructive staff comprised the following:—

Three to teach the Rgveda.

Three to teach the Yajurveda.

One to teach the Chandoga.

One to teach the Talavakara Sama.

One to teach the Vajasenīya.

One to teach the Baudhayaniya Grhya and Kalpa and Kathana.

One to teach Vyākaraņa.

One to teach the Pravakara.

One to teach the Vedanta.

The fee attached to each chair which is given in detail and the allowances granted to the students described above, enable us to judge of the relative importance attached to the different subjects in this period. The teacher of Vedanta, for instance, got a tuni of paddy more per day than the teacher of Vyakarana and Mīmāṃsā. 1978 It is no less interesting to note that the teachers in some of the subjects were paid according to what economists call the "piece-work" system. Thus the teacher of Vyakarana was paid one Kalanju of gold per adhyāya taught.

### Another sanskrit college in s. india.

Similarly, inscription No. 176 of 1919 refers to another Sanskrit College with 260 students on the rolls. The Instructive staff comprised the following:

Three to teach the Rgveda.

Three to teach the Yajurveda.

One to teach the Samaveda.

One to teach the Chandoga.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Ibid., for 1918, pp. 145f.

One to teach the Talavakara.

One to teach the White Yajurveda.

One to teach Mimamsa.

One to teach Baudhayana Grhyasutra.

One to teach Satyashadha Sutra.

Here were also taught the Mahabharata, the Ramayana, Vyakarana, Rupavatara, Vedanta and the Vaikhanasa sastra. 1979

This institution was maintained out of the endowment of 72 veli of land yielding annually 12000 kalam of paddy, out of which 9,525 kalam was reserved for this College. This land of 75 veli was free from rent and the teachers and the students enjoyed special exemptions. 1980 It may also be noted that the teachers here received four kalam of paddy daily as against one at Ennayiram.

#### THE STHENAGUNDURU AGRAHERA.

Another inscription at Taldagundy No. 103 1981 belonging probably to the 12th century A. D. records that in the Sthanagunduru Agrahara "were professors skilled in medicine, in sorcery (or magic), in logic, in poetry, in the art of distorting people by incantation, in poetry, in the use of weapons, in sacrificing......and in the art of cookery to prepare the meals. While its groves put to shame the groves of Nandana, such was the glory of that great agrahara that all the surrounding country prayed to be taught in the four Vedas, the six Vedangas, the three rival divisions of Mimamsa, the tarka and other connected sciences, the eighteen great Puranas, the making of numerous verses of praise, the art of architecture, the arts of music and dancing and in the knowledge of all the four divisions of learning which were possessed by the brahmanas of the Sthanagunduru agrahara." The four divisions of learning mentioned in the passage imply Vartta as one of them, so that the agrahara was the repository not only of sacredotal learning but also of the secular arts and sciences.

This seems to be the first epigraphic evidence of priest-craft as a regular subject of instruction.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Madras Ep. Rep. for 1919, p. 96.

#### THE SANSKRIT COLLEGE AT DHAR.

Another great educational establishment was the famous college for Sanskrit studies at Dhar established by King Bhoja Paramara Col. Luard and Mr. Lele in "The Paramaras of Dhar and Malwa" give us interesting details about this college. In this college sanskrit aphorisms on various subjects were inscribed on stone. A drama composed bv the Gauda Brahmin Madana. commemorating the victory of his patron Arjunabarman Paramāra over the king of Gujrat was also inscribed on slabs. When the college was converted into a mosque by the Moslem conquerors all these slabs of stone were used for flooring and are now so rubbed over that almost nothing inscribed thereon is now legible. Madana's drama, however, has been deciphered and edited in Epigraphica Indica, VIII. This drama, we are told, was staged in the college on the occasion of a spring festival. Close to this college there is an old well called Akkal-kūvi or 'well of wisdom': and it reminds us of the famous Chandra's well in Nalanda Vihara and of the time when learned men who studied in this college and held disputations in its hall, drank water from this well and advanced in wisdom and knowledge. This Sanskrit college was known as Sarasvati-sadana or Bharati-bhuvana and still subsists as the Kamāl Maula Mosque.

That such centres of learning flourished in the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara late in the fifteenth century is known to us. Mr. Sewell<sup>1988</sup> observes: "Here and there (in the city of Vijayanagara) were wonderfully carved temples and fanes to Hindu deities, with Brahminical colleges and schools attached to the more important amongst the number."

### §5. THE GHATIKAS.

The South Indian inscriptions refer to various other educational institutions. Thus Talagunda Pillar inscription of Kakusthavarman refers to an institution known as the Ghatika at Kanchipura patronised

by the Western Kshatrapas. We are also told that a brāhmaņa Mayūraśarman by name entered with his teacher Vīraśarman this ghatikā with a view to acquire mastery over all the sacred lore. From the Velūrpālayam plates we learn that this ghatikā was captured by the Pallava King Skandhaśisya from the Western satrap Satyasena. As a result of this political turmoil the ghatikā had to suspend its work for a time and hence the lamentation of Mayūraśarman:

"Kaliyugesmin aho bata kahatrat pipolava viprata yata Brahmasiddhih kahatradhina."

"Alas! although they work ever so hard, the final fruits of Brahminical learning depend for their realisation, on the mood of the kshatriyas." The Kāśakudi plates of Nandivarman refers to such a ghatikā where he had all the four Vedas discussed and their injunctions explained. We find many other references to such institutions in the South Indian inscriptions. 1986

# § 6. HOSTELS, MESSES AND HALLS FOR STUDENTS.

The Jātakas<sup>1987</sup> clearly prove that the students had a common mess. Hostels for students are mentioned in many South Indian inscriptions. Inscription No. 182 of 1915<sup>1988</sup> refers to a hostel (and a hospital) for students of the school attached to the Venkateśwara Perumāl temple at Tirukkuḍal established by the royal grant of Virarājendradeva (1062 A. D.) In this hostel the students were provided with food, bathing oil on Saturdays and with oil for lamps. The staff and establishment for the school-hostel and hospital comprised one physician, one surgeon, two servants who fetched drugs, supplied fuel and did other services for the hospital, two maid-servants for nursing the patients (for whom there were fifteen beds) and one

<sup>1998</sup> Prabashanam nikhilam. Dr. Kielhorn incorrectly reads nikhilām and takes it with ghatikām making no sence.

<sup>1984</sup> Ep. Ind., VII. 1988 South Indian Inscriptions, II. 349 and 356.

<sup>1000</sup> Ep. Ind., III. 36; IV. 193; VI. 241; Ep. Carnatica III. 108; V. 178; VII. 197.

<sup>1987</sup> IV. 391; I. 317, 1988 Madras Ep. Rep., for 1916, p. 119.

general servant for the hostel and the hospital. Another inscription 1989 which comes from Panaiyavaram refers to a hostel where there was provision for an oil bath for the students every week. Similarly No. 343 of 1917 refers to a hostel attached to a temple where provision was made for feeding 5 6 brahmanas and the Srivaisnavas. The number probably included the 340 students of the Sanskrit College at Ennayiram. It is stated in the inscription that the members of the Village Supervision Committee were made responsible for the daily supply of the firewood required for the hostel. The husking of paddy for the hostel was to be done at the rate of two measures of rice per five measures of paddy. It is further stated that brahmana merchants were lent some money by the village Assembly, the interest on which was paid by them in kind, in the shape of supplying sugar and other necessaries; and half the surplus quantity of clarified butter, milk and curds left after meeting the requirements of worship was made over to the hostel. Brahmin bachelors were appointed as watermen and as cooks for the hostel. Buddhist monasteries like Nalanda and Vikramasila (as we shall see later on) had satras (for students) attached to them. Side by side with these hostels and messes we find also the existence of halls for students. Sussala, the wife of Rilhana, the chief minister of king Jayasimha of Kashmere (1128-49 A. D.) constructed halls for students. 1990

# §7. THE TOLS.

Other schools of Sanskrit learning were the tols. It generally consists of a thatched chamber in which the pandita (teacher) and his students met and a collection of mud huts round a quadrangle in which the students lived in the simplest manner. The huts were built and repaired at the expense of the pandit. The pandita provided the pupils with shelter, free tuition, and food and clothes they obtained from him and also from the rich men of the locality and by begging at the chief festivals.

<sup>1000</sup> Ibid., No. 823 of 1917.

<sup>2000</sup> Rajatarangini, VIII. 2416; Stein-The Chronicles of Kashmere, Vol. II. p. 187.

Sometimes in a town of special sanctity or even of political importance, numbers of such tols were established side by side and constituted a kind of University. Examples of these are Benares Nadia survived the shock of the Muhammadan invasion and Nadia. under Bakhtyar and during the Mediæval period taught a number of subjects e. g., (1) Logic, (2) Smrti, (3) Jyotişa, (4) Grammar, (5) Kāvya, and (6) Tantra. But the greatest achievements of the University were in the field of Logic. Dialectical discussions were held specially at a festival and the ambition of the student was to gain success by adroit and hair-splitting arguments. Professor Cowell, who visited the schools at Nadia in 1867 says: "I could not help looking at these unpretending lecture-halls with a deep interest, as I thought of the Pandits lecturing there to generation after generation of cager, inquisitive Seated on the floor with the "corona" of listening pupils round him, the teacher expatiates on those refinements of infinitesimal logic which make a European's brain dizzy to think of, but whose labyrinth a trained Nadia student will thread with unfaultering precision."1991

Among its famous teachers may be mentioned the names of Abdihodha Yogī who is said to have founded there the first school of Logic and Vāsudeva Sārbbabhauma. Its distinguished alumni are Raghunātha Siromaņi, the author of the Didhiti and the commentary on Gautamasūtra, Raghunandan, the most renowned teacher of Law in Bengal, Kṛṣṇānanda, the famous Tāntric philosopher and Śrī Chaitanya, the great Vaiṣṇava leader of the sixteenth century.

# § 8. THE TAMIL ACADEMY.

Another educational institution though of a different type altogether was the Tamil Academy or Sangam. The first Academy was held at Mādurā, the second at Kavāṭapuram and the third at Uttar Mādurā. These were associations of learned men summoned by kings from time to time to set the standard in Tamil style, to regulate state

<sup>1991</sup> Quoted in Nadia Gaseteer (Bengal District Gaseteer No. 24), 1916, p. 182.

<sup>1000</sup> M. Sriniväsa Aiyanger—Tamil Studies.

patronage and to set the stamp of approval on works conforming to the standard. They remind us of the Babylonian Academy (the Metibta) which convoked a general Assembly (the Kalla) twice a year, when a treatise previously announced was brought and discussed. Among the titles bestowed by the Tamil Sangam we find Asiriyar (Sanskrit, Acarya) Pulavar (pandita) and Kavi chakravarti (prince of poets). It also made gifts of land and money. The Padirruppattu states that Kannanar got five hundred villages, Kāppiyanar ten lacs of rupees and Nacchellai one lac of gold coins and solid gold for jewels.

### § 9 LITERARY EXAMINATIONS.

(Rājasekhara<sup>1998</sup> who lived about \$90—920 A. D. says that "the king-poet should have a special chamber for testing literary compositions. The chamber should have sixteen pillars, four doors and eight turrets. The pleasure-house should be attached to this chamber. In the middle of the chamber there should be an altar one hand high with four pillars and jewelled floor. Here the king should take his seat. On its northern side should be seated Sanskrit poets and behind them Vaidikas, Logiciaus, Paurāṇikas, Smārtās, physicians, astrologers and such others; on the eastern side the Prākṛta poets, and behind them actors, dancers, singers, musicians, bards and such others; on the western side vernacular poets and behind them painters, jewel-setters, jewellers, gold-smiths, carpenters, blacksmiths and such others; and on the southern side Paisācha poets and behind them paramours, courtesans, rope-dancers, jugglers, wrestlers and professional soldiers." 1994

In another place Rājaśckhara 1995 says that "the king should hold assemblies for the examination of the works of poets. He should patronise poets, become the Savāpati (President) like the ancient kings Vāsudeva, Šātabāhana, Šūdraka and Sāhasāňka, and honour and give donations to the poets whose works stand the test. Assemblies of learned men

<sup>, \$000</sup> Kābyamīmāņsā in the Gaekwad Oriental Series, Text, pp. 54-55.

<sup>1006</sup> Ibid., Introduction, p. XX.

(Brahmasabhās) ahould be held in big cities for examining poetical and scientific works; and the successful candidate should be conveyed in a special chariot (Brahmaratha) and should be crowned with a fillet. Such assembles for examining in poetry were held in Ujjaini. Kalidāsa, Mentha, Amara, Rūpa, Sūra, Bhārabi, Harichandra and Chandragupta were examined here. Pātaliputra was the centre for examinations in sciences. It was after passing from here that Upavarṣa, Varṣa, Pāṇinī, Piñgala, Vyādi, Vararuchi, and Patañjali got fame as sāstrakāras." 1996

### §10. THE MATHAS.

We have already seen that in the Buddhist system of education it was the monastery, which was the principal centre of learning. Monasteries have never had such an important place in Hinduism as in Buddhism but they have existed and are still to be found. From Amarakosa<sup>1997</sup> we learn that a matha was a hostel or hall for students. Teachers are also mentioned in connection with them. Thus inscription Nos. 205 of 1913 and 371 of 1911 refer to Vagiswara Pandita, No. 477 of 1912 refers to Nirvanadeva and Nellore No. 525 mentions Dattatreyaswāmin "the excellent guru."

# (i) SAIVA MATHAS.

The earliest monasteries or mathas of which we have clear record in epigraphy are those associated with Jana-Sambandha (seventh century A. D.) which in the next few centuries had branches in numerous tracts of the Chola and Pandya countries. Hiuen Tsang has recorded that the Saiva anchorites lived in mathas which were probably copied from the Buddhist Vihāras. One inscription registers the gift to a temple of a matha in the western street for reciting the Veda. 1998 Another refers to the matha of Andar Sundaraperumal at Kanchipuram. 1999 A third inscription registers a house and a house-garden for purposes of a matha, together with some land mortgaged to it as a guarantee for the regular supply of rice.

<sup>1996</sup> Ibid., Introduction, p. XXI.

<sup>1997</sup> Mathasohchātrādi-nilayah.

<sup>1000</sup> Madras Ep. Rep. 1908-09. n. 195.

<sup>1000</sup> This - 100

The succession of the pupils (of the donee) shall enjoy the matta as long as the Sun and the Moon exist. No. 181 of 1912 refers to a mathapati, who is an important functionary frequently appearing on temple councils in later records. No. 509 of 1912 records the sale of land belonging to a temple for a matha. 2000 Another important matha was that of Mahavratins mentioned in No. 423 of 1914.2001 An inscription of Amoghavarsa refers to the existence of five mathas one of whose donees was surnamed Traividya, showing that these were the seats of orthodox Hinduism and Vedic learning. Inscriptions Nos. 212 and 269 of 1911 refer to a matha built in honour of Midadudayar in the second year of King Aditya Chola I of Tanjore. Inscriptions Nos. 127 and 132 of 1912 and 373 of 1913 refer to the foundation at Tiruvāriyūr of a matha by a Brahmin lady of Mercara. Inscription No. 504 of 1900 refers to a matha at Inscription No. 119 of 1911 refers to the foundation of another matha in honour of Iswaradeva by one of his lady-disciples. Mysore Inscription we get a glympse of the universal range of studies carried on in the mathas at Belgame which were mostly founded by Kālāmukha ascetics from Kashmere. In the Kodiya matha instruction was given in the Vedas, Vedangas, grammar of Kumara, Panini and Sākatāyana, Sabdānusāsana and other works; the six Darsanas, the Yoga-sastras of Lakula, Patanjali and others; the eighteen Puranas, Dharmaśāstras, Kāvyas, Nātakas and other śāstras. 2002 The third pontiff of this matha was proficient in Siddhanta, Tarka, Vyakarana, Kāvya, Nātaka, Bharata-sāstra and other sciences connected with Sāhitya and in Jainism, Lokayata, Buddhism and Lakula Siddhanta. Another pontiff was not only well-versed in Vedanta, Siddhanta, Agama etc., but was also clever in explaining the origin of words and in devising new metres. There were many under him who observed the vow of studentship for life. Other such mathas in Belgame were the Panchalinga matha, the Panchamatha, the Hiranyamatha and the Tripurantaka, all of which find mention in the epigraphs of the twelfth century. The

<sup>2000</sup> Madras Ep. Rep. 1913, p. 57.

<sup>2001</sup> Tbid., 1915, p. 42.

<sup>2002</sup> Epigraphica Carnatica. VII, Sk, 102,

educational character of these mathas is clear also from the reference in one of the inscriptions to the Kodiyamatha as "our hereditary Gurukula" (seat of learning).

A series of epigraphic records in South India relates to mathas connected with Saivism which grew in power and popularity under the Chola Kings. No. 467 of 1908 refers to a matha called Tiruvagisam-Rajendrasolan at Tirucchattimuram and another matha at Sembaikkudi. 2008 Other mathas connected with the Sivayogins or Maheswaras are mentioned in Nos. 164, 177, 402 and 583 of 1908. Rajendra Chola set up images of some Saiva saints and a matha at Tanjore. There were Saiva in Kovilūr the Trichinopoly mathas in district and Madipadu in the Guntur district 9004 and at Kariśulndamangalam on the The mismanagement and misappropriation of the Tamraparņī river. revenues of the last matha by one of the managers led to the dismissal of the recalcitrants after due enquiry and to the handing over of the properties to the Venkatāchalapati temple of the place, subject to certain restrictions as regards the audit of accounts and the general maintenance of the matha. 2005 Other Saiva mathas were founded by Tirujñana Sambandha and his followers, one of which was at Tiruvānaikāval. It was known as the matha of 48,000 (villages or families) which was later superseded by that of Sankaracarya, apparently a branch of that at Kanchipuram.

The Pillar Inscription at Malkapuram in the Guntur taluk of the Guntur district of records that Viśweśvara-Sivacharya of the Gauda country, a highly learned scholar and religious leader used one of the many gifts; bestowed on him by the Kakatiya kings to found at Mandaram (the Mandadam) monastery, a feeding house, schools of students of Saiva Puritans, together with a maternity and a hospital. Three teachers were appointed for teaching the three Vedas and five for Logic, Literature and the Agamas. There were also appointed one doctor and one accountant (kayastha). For the matha and feeding house were provided aix brahmapa servants. It was directed that the presiding teacher

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Madras Ep. Rep., 1908-09, p. 103.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Madrae Ep. Rep. No. 576 of 1916.

<sup>2004</sup> Madras Ep. Rep., No. 187 of 1917.

acce Ibid., for 1917, p. 122.

appointed to supervise these charities should be liable to removal for neglect of duty or misconduct by the entire Saiva community (santanika). There are other inscriptions to show that the same strict regulations applied to Saiva teachers appointed as heads of the mathas. 2007

Kalhana in his Rajatarangini<sup>2008</sup> also refers to the establishment of innumerable mathas for Brahmins, Saivas and Pāsupatas in Kashmere.

# (ii) VAIŅAVA MAŢHAS.

References to Vaisnava mathas are also to be found. No. 465 of 1909 assigned to Kālasekhara I records a gift of two villages for a Vaisnava matha, where learned brāhmaṇas from eighteen Vaisnava countries are to be fel. An interesting series of inscriptions from the Kurnool district, assigned to the middle of the thirteenth century A. D. refers to a famous Vaisnava matha named Golaki matha at Mannikoil which is stated to have wielded its spiritual influence over three lacs of villages under a succession of famous teachers. Inscriptions at Shermadeva<sup>2009</sup> refer to Vaisnava and Saiva mathas flourishing side by side.

### § 11. VIDYāpithas.

For the conversion of the common mass Sankarācārya is said to have founded Vidyāpīthas with a great teacher presiding over each. One such was the Kānchipuram Vidyāpītha. Others were at four important corners of India—Sāradā (Badarikā) in the North, Purī in the East, Dwārakā in the West and Sringeri in the South. In theory the Vidyāpītha was an expansion of the old Gurukulas but in practice it was modelled on the Saiva mathas. Logic and Grammar were taught free as also Vedic and Vedāntic lore. Students were fed free of cost in most cases by liberal endowments made by the generous public. The Conjeveram Copper Plate of

<sup>2007</sup> Ibid.; also Ep. Ind., Vol XII pp. 290f.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> I. 170, 195, 335; II 135; III. 8, 460, 476; IV. 512, 696; V. 38, 244, 245; VI. 87, 88, 99, 104, 300, 304, 305, 307; VII. 120, 142, 149, 180, 182, 183, 214, 608, 961, 1678; VIII. 243, 246, 247, 673, 2401, 2408, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2426, 2431, 2433, 2434, 2439, 2443, 2447, 3316, 3350, 3354, 3356, 3359.

acco Madras Ep. Rep. for 1916, Nos. 567, 579.

Vijayaganda Gopāla<sup>2010</sup> records the grant of a village in Chingleput to the head of the matha of Kanchipuram, when a follower of Sankarācārya "was pleasing religious students by daily gifts of food and expounding to them treasures of the Vedānta". The grant was intended to cover the cost of feeding either 108 or 800 brāhmanas daily. The teachers and pupils of these Vidyāpīthas were often sent out among the remote villagers to win them to the ways of goodness and truth. Sannyāsī Sureswarācārya alias Madana Miśra, the renowned teacher of Mīmāṃsā, is mentioned as the first successor of S'ankarācārya on the gaddi of the Sringeri matha. Mādhavācārya, prime minister of Bukka I of Vijayanagara and author of Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha was elected in 1331 A. D. the head of this Vidyāpītha.<sup>2011</sup>

### § 12. THE JAINA MONASTERIES.

The Jaina monasteries were built on the model of the Buddhist Vihāras (or monasteries) and there the members of the Order prosecuted their studies and became learned men. This is proved from the references to debates at important centres where Jaina monks known as Tīrthāñkaras are said to have taken part in discussions. Hiuen Tsang refers to some discussions among Brahmins, Bhikṣus and Tīrthāñkaras in some Buddhist monasteries. The Jaina monasteries were scattered in Behar, Gujrat and the Carnatic. Kumārapāla Chālukya of Anhilwad (c. 1143—1173) and his ministers are said to have built many Jaina Vihāras. The Tamil epics<sup>2012</sup> give us a picture of Jaina monasteries at Kāveripaṭṭṇam, Uriyūr and Mādurā, filled with both monks and nuns, surrounded by high walls, painted red and overlooking little flower-gardens.

# § 13. THE BUDDHIST MONASTERIES.

We get a valuable account of innumerable Buddhist monasteries in India from the itineraries of many Chinese pilgrims who visited

<sup>2010</sup> Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII. No. 16.

<sup>2011</sup> P. C. Roy.—History of Hindu Chemistry, Vol. I. p. LXXVIII.

<sup>2012</sup> Venkateswara-Indian Culture Through the Ages, Vol. I. p. 251.

India in the fifth and seventh centuries A. D. Their long, toilsome and dangerous journeys would hardly have been undertaken unless the fame of the Buddhist monasteries in India as places of learning had reached as far as China.

Fa-hsien who was in India between 339 and 414 A. D. makes frequent references to monasteries. In the country of Udyana there were five hundred monasteries, all belonging to the Lesser Vehicle. 2013 In a country called Bhida (in the Punjab) there were many monasteries, containing in all ten thousand priests. 2014 In a country called Muttra or Mandor on the right and left banks of the Jumna there were twenty monasteries with some three thousand priests. 2015 Fa-hsien refers to three monasteries in Kapitha of which the monastery called Fire Domain was one. 2016 "Tradition says that near about this time the Shrine of the Garden of Gold in Srzvasti was surrounded by ninety-eight monasteries, all inhabited by priests except one which was vacant". 2017

### THE MIGADABA MONASTERY.

Another seat of learning was the Isipatana or Mṛgadāba (Deer Park) Saṃghārāma, near Benares. A bath or washing was customary for the inmates of the Buddhist monasteries and accordingly we find here a plastered brick-lined reservoir or kuṇḍa with sloping sides, about seven feet square and five feet deep, with a flight of steps. 2019 Fa-hsien found here 1500 monks studying the Sammatīya branch of Hīnayāna Buddhism. Hiuen Tsang gives a more detailed description of this place where he found 1500 monks all of the Sammatīya school. There were cloisters (kañkrama) in this Deer Park where the World-honoured used to walk. They are about two cubits wide, fourteen or fifteen cubits long and two cubits high, built with bricks. 2020 I-Tsing visited this monastery 2021 and seems to have been much impressed by it, for says he: "I would sometimes direct my thoughts far away to the Deer Park."

2016 Ibid., pp. 27-28.

<sup>3018</sup> Giles-The Travels of Fa-hsien, p. 11. 2014 Ibid., pp. 19-20.;

<sup>2018</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>2017</sup> Ibid., p. 35. Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 107.

sers Arch. Surv. of India, Annual Report Vsoso Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 114. for 1921-22, p. 44.

sess Ibid., XXIX.

#### A MONASTERY AT PATNA.

In the city of Pataliputra "by the side of king Aśoka's pagoda, a monastery under the Greater Vehicle was built, very imposing in appearance; and also one under the Lesser vehicle, the two together containing six to seven hundred priests, grave and decorous, each in his proper place,—a striking sight. Virtuous śramaṇas and scholars from the four quarters, wishing to investigate the principles of duty to one's neighbour all came to the latter monastery. There is resident in the former a brahmaṇa teacher, who is named Mañjuśrī (after the famous Bodhisattva) and who is very much looked up to by the leading śramaṇas and religious mendicants under the Greater Vehicle throughout the kingdom.<sup>2023</sup>

#### THE JETAVANA MONASTERY.

In Fa-hsien's time the chief place for higher Buddhist education was the Jetavana monastery near Pataliputra. 'There were chapels for preaching and halls for meditation, mess-rooms and chambers for monks, bath-houses, a hospital, libraries and reading rooms, with pleasant shady tanks and a great wall encompassing all. The libraries were richly furnished not only with orthodox Buddhist literature but also with Vedic or other non-Buddhistic works and with treatises on the arts and sciences taught in India at the time. The monastery was well-situated, being conveniently near the city, and yet far from the distracting sights and noises of the world. Moreover, the park afforded a perfect shade, and was a delightful place for walking in, during the heat and glare of the tropical day. It had streams and tanks of cool clear water; it was free from noxious stinging creatures; and it was a favourite resort of the good and devotional people of all religions.'2024

The city of Rājagrha contained two monasteries.<sup>2025</sup> "Where Buddha attained his Buddhaship (in the city of Gayā) there are three monasteries each with resident priests..................... The strictness with which, while Buddha was still in the world, the holy brotherhood

<sup>2028</sup> Giles-The Travels of Fa-hsien, p. 46.

<sup>3024</sup> Watters-Yuan Chwang, I. 386.

sees Giles-The Travels of Fa-hsien, p. 49.

observed their vows and disciplinary regulations and the gravity of their deportment when sitting, rising or entering an assembly, persist down to the present day."<sup>2026</sup> In the city of Benarcs there are now two monasterics in the deer-forest, both with resident priests.<sup>2027</sup>

#### MONASTERY AT S'RI-PARVATA.

Dr. Beal thus discusses the situation of this monastery in his "Life of Hiuen Tsang": "The king (Sadvāha) prepared the cavedwelling for him (Nāgārjuna) of which we have a history in the 10th book of the "Records." This cave-dwelling was hewn in a mountain called Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li i. e., Bhramarāgiri, the mountain of the black bee (Bhramarā = Durgā). Dr. Burgess has identified this mountain with the celebrated S'rīsailas, bordering on the river Kṛṣṇā called by Scheifner S'rīparvata. Doubtless it is the same as that described by Fa-Hien in the 35th Chapter of his Travels. He calls it the Po-lo-yue Temple, which he explains as "the Pigeon (Pārābata) monastery. But a more probable restoration of the Chinese symbols

aose Ibid., p. 55-56.

sess Ibid., pp. 62-63.

<sup>.</sup> sest Ibid., p. 61.

would be the Parbati or Parvata, monastery. The symbol yue in Chinese Buddhist translations is equivalent to va (or vat). We may therefore assume that the Po-lo-yue monastery of Fa-Hien was the Durga monastery of Hiuen Tsang, otherwise called S'ri-parvata. This supposition is confirmed by the actual history of the place; for Hiuen Tsang tells us that after the Buddhists established themselves in the monastery, the brahmanas by a stratagem took possession of it. Doubtless, when in possession, they would give it a distinctive name acceptable to themselves; hence the terms Bhramara or Bhramaraba,"2029

This spot 'S'riparvata' is also referred to in the Ratnabali 1080 as being the place whence the Tantric magician S'rikhanda Dasa came to Kausambi to teach Udayana the art of making flowers blossom at any season. In Bhababhūti's Mālatīmādhava 2081 frequent mention has been made of S'riparvata which was the residence of the Tantric priest Aghoraghanta, priestess Kapalakundalā, the Buddhist S'ravika Saudamini and others. In the Kathasaritsagara 2032 we read of an ascetic who went to S'riparvata and performed a course of asceticism there for propitiating S'iva. In Tibetan the mountain is called Dpal-gyi-ri (Fortune-her-mountain) which according to Tibetan authorities 2033 was situated in Southern India where Nagārjuna Bodhisattva (33 B. C.) spent his last days absorbed in deep meditation.

Hiuen Tsang thus writes about this Sriparvata monastery: "The king Sadvaha.....tunnelled out this rock through the middle and built and fixed thereon (in the middle) a Samgharama; at a distance of 10 li, by tunnelling, he opened a covered way (an approach). Thus by standing under the rock (not knowing the way in) we see the cliff excavated throughout and in the midst of long galleries (corridors) with eaves for walking under and high towers (turrets), the storeyed building reaching to the height of five stages, each stage with four halls with viharas enclosed (united)...... From the high peak

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Introduction p. XXI.

<sup>2080</sup> Act. II. Prabetaka. soss Ch. LXXXIII.

<sup>✓</sup> ses 1, IX., X. etc.

<sup>2008</sup> Täränäth's Geschichte des Buddhismus Von Schiefner, p. 84.

of the mountain descending streamlets, like small cascades, flow through the different storeys, winding round the side-galleries and then discharging themselves without. Scattered light-holes illumine the interior (inner chambers)."2034 Neither Fa-Hien nor Hiuen Tsang personally visited the spot. It would seem to have been utterly deserted and waste even in Fa-hsien's time. This favours the record of its early construction in the time of Nagarjuna (about the 1st century B. C.). 2035

Fa-hsien refers to a monastery of the Greater Vehicle in Central India where he obtained copies and extracts of several sacred texts. 2036 He stopped here for three years, learning to write and speak Sanskrit (or Pali) and copying out the Disciplines. 2037 In the country of Tamluk he found twenty-four monasteries, all with resident priests. He stayed here for two years, copying out sastras and drawing pictures of images. 2038

Sung-yun (518 A. D.) refers to two monasteries to the north of the royal city of Udyāna country. He also mentions another monastery in this country with three hundred priests and more. Oddo In this country there was another monastery where formerly dwelt a sramenera who being constantly occupied in sifting ashes (belonging to the convent) fell into a state of spiritual ecstacy. He also refers to another monastery in this country with about eighty priests in it. He took up his quarters in a monastery in Gāndhāra.

Hiuen Tsang who was in India from 629-645 A. D. refers to the monastery of Kū-chī, in the extreme north-west, which was a resort "for men of eminence from distant lands, who were hospitably entertained by the king, officials and people." The Buddhist brethern at Srughna were lucid expounders of abstract philosophical doctrines and distinguished brethern from other lands came to them to reason out their doubts. 2044 In Lamghan there were ten monasteries. 2045

See Beal-Bud lhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II. pp. 214-15.

<sup>2035</sup> Thid., p. 215 footnote. 2036 Giles—The Travels of Fa-hsien, p. 64.

<sup>2037</sup> Ibid., p. 65.

<sup>2039</sup> Beal-Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I. p. XCVI.

<sup>2040</sup> Ibid., p. XCVII.

<sup>2042</sup> Ibid., CI. 2048 Watters—Yuan Chwang I. 68, 2044 Ibid., p. 318, 2044 Beal—Life of Hiven Teang, p. 57,

In the town of Dipañkara there was one. Four or five is to the north of the town of Puşkalābatī there was another monastery. In the Udyāna country there were formerly 1400 monasteries with 18,000 priests; but now all is desert and depopulated. In the valley of Daril in Udyāna, however, there was then one large monastery. In Taxila there was another.

#### THE JAYENDRA CONVENT.

In Kashmere there were formerly 500 monasteries but there are now only 100 with about 5000 priests.2052 The most important of these was the Che-ye-in-to lo (Jayendra) convent. " Before noon he (the chief of the priests of that establishment) explained the Kosa-sastra. Afternoon he explained the Niyaya-anusara-sastra-after the first watch of the night he explained the Hetuvidya sastra. On these occasions all the learned men within the borders (of the kingdom) without exception, flocked together (to hear the discourse). The Master of the Law, following the words of his teacher, grasped thoroughly the entire subject—he penetrated all the obscure passages and their sacred mysteries completely". 9058 "Then there was in the congregation certain priests versed in the doctrine of the great Vehicle-viz., Pi-shu-to-sang-ho (Visuddhasimgha), Chin-na-fan-tu (Jinabandu); and of the Sarvastavadin school, the following: Su-kia-mi-to-lo (Sugatamitra), Po-su-mi-to-lo (Vasumitra): and of the school of the Mahasanghikas, the following: Su-li-ye-ti-po (Suryadeva), Chin-na-ta-lo-tu (Jinatrata)".2054 "This country from remote times was distinguished for learning and these priests were all of high religious merit and conspicuous virtue as well as of marked talent and power of clear exposition of the doctrine; and though the other priests (i. e., of other nations) were in their own way distinguished, yet they could not be compared with these-so different were they from the ordinary class". \$055 "Having halted here, first and last,

**** Ibid., p. 60.	2047 Ibid., p. 64.
ace Ibid.	2040 Ibid.
2000 Ibid., p. 66.	2081 Ibid., p. 67.
sess Ibid., p. 68.	soss Ibid., p. 70.
sees Ibid.	2005 Ibid., p. 71,

for two years and having studied the sutras and the sustras and paid reverence to the sacred traces the Master took his leave". 2056

In Sakala there was one monastery with about a hundred priests. "In the old days Vasubandhu Bodhisattva here composed the treatise Shing-i-tai-lun". 2057 In the kingdom of Chinapati there was a "convent called Tu-she-sa-na (?). Here there was a renowned priest named Pi-ni-to-poh-la-po (Vinitaprabha). He was of a good reputation and had mastered the three pitakas. He had himself composed a commentary on the Panchaskhanda sastra and in the Nidyamatrasiddhitridasa sastra. On this account the Master remained there fourteen months. He studied the Abhidharma sastra, the Abhidharma-prakarapa-sastra, the Nyāyadvara-tarka-sāstra; and others". 2058 Then there was the Tamasavana monastery with some 300 priests. 2059

In the kingdom of Jālandhara there was "the Nagaradhana convent where there was an eminent priest called Chandravarmā who was thoroughly acquainted with the Tripītaka. On this account he (Hiuen-Tsang) rested here four months, studying the Prakaraṇa-pāda-bivāsa-śāstra."<sup>2060</sup> In the kingdom of Mathurā there was a mountain monastery founded by the venerable Upagupta.<sup>2061</sup> In the kingdom of Matipura there were ten monasteries.<sup>2062</sup> "In this kingdom there was an eminent priest called Mitrasena, ninety years of age. He was a disciple of Guṇaprabha and deeply versed in the Tripītakas. The Master of the Law stopped with him half the spring and the summer following, studying the Tattvasatya-śāstra, the Abhidharma-Jñāna-prasthāna-śāstra and others."<sup>2063</sup>

In Kapitha there was one monastery.<sup>2064</sup> In Kanauj there were 100 monasteries and 10,000 priests.<sup>2065</sup> In the kingdom of Ayodhyā there were 100 monasteries with several thousand priests.<sup>2066</sup> Hiuen Tsang<sup>2067</sup> makes particular mention of one monastery in Ayodhyā where

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      2056
      Ibid., p. 72.

      2058
      Ibid., p. 76.

      2059
      Ibid.

      2059
      Ibid.

      2059
      Ibid.

      2051
      Ibid.

      2053
      Ibid., p. 81.

      2064
      Ibid., p. 85.

      2065
      Ibid., p. 82.

      2067
      Watters—Yuan Chwang, Vol. I. pp. 355-56.
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Maitreva is reported to have communicated the materials of three Buddhist treatises 1068 to Asanga while the latter was living in the monastery. In Prayaga there was one monastery. 2069 In Kauśambi there were ten monasteries. 2070 In the kingdom of Visakha there were about 20 monasteries and some 3,000 priests. 2071 In S'ravasti there were 100 monasteries. 2072 In Rāmagrāma there was one monastery.2073 In Benares there were thirty monasteries and 2,000 In the kingdom of Magadha there were about monasteries. 2075 In Pataliputra there were the Kukkutarama and Tiladaka convents. 2076

In the country of Hiranya there were ten monasteries and about 5,000 priests.2077 "Recently there was a frontier king who deposed the ruler of this country and bestowed the capital on the priests; in it moreover he built two convents each containing 1000 priests. There are two eminent brothers here, one called Tathagatagupta, the other Ksantisimha, both belonging to the Sarvastavadin school. Here the Master stopped one year and read the Vibhāsha and the Nyāya-anusāra, sastras and others,"9078

· In the kingdom of Champa there were some ten monasteries with about 300 priests. 2079 In the kingdom of Kajūghira there were six or seven monasteries with about 300 priests. 2080 In Paundrabardhana there were about twelve monasteries. 2081 In Karnasuvarna there were ten monasteries and 300 priests.2082 Besides these there were in this country two monasteries "where they did not use either butter or

<sup>2068</sup> These Saptadasabhūmisastra-yogācārya, Sūtrālankāra-tikā, and treatises are : Madhyanta-vibhaga-śastra.

<sup>2069</sup> Beal-Life of Hiuen Tsang, p. 90.

<sup>8070</sup> Ibid., p. 91.

<sup>2071</sup> Tbid., p. 92. sovs Ibid., p. 92 footnote; compare Beal-Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II. p. 2.

Boal-Life of Hiuen Tsang, p. 96.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Ibid., p. 101. 2077 Ibid., p. 127.

<sup>2079</sup> Ibid., p. 128,

sees Ibid.

<sup>\*074</sup> Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>2076</sup> Ibid., pp. 102-03.

<sup>2078</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2080</sup> Ibid., p. 131.

<sup>2082</sup> Ibid.

milk—this is the traditional teaching of Devadatta." \*\* In Samatata there were twenty monasteries with 3000 priests. 2084 In the kingdom of Tamralipti there were ten monasteries and a congregation of about I-Tsing 1986 gives us a detailed description of 1900 priests. 2085 Bha-ra-ha monastery 2087 of Tamralipti whose monks were strict observers of precepts. In this monastery there lived the famous Buddhist teacher Rahula-mitra. "He was then about thirty years Every day he read over the Ratnakutasutra which contains 100 verses. He was not only versed in the three collections of the scriptures but also thoroughly conversant with the secular literature on the four sciences. He was honoured as the head of the priests in the eastern districts of India."2088 In Orissa there were about 100 monasteries and ten thousand priests or so 2089 who studied the Great Vehicle. 2000 In Kalinga there were about ten monasteries occupied by some 500 priests who studied the Law according to the Sthavira school. 2091 In southern Kośala there were 100 monasteries and 10,000 priests. 2092 In the kingdom of Andhra by the side of the capital there is a large monastery.2093 In Dhanakataka there was a monastery called Purva'ila.2094 To the west of the capital resting against a mountain there is a monastery called Avarasila. 2095 Tsang heard that there were at that time in Ceylon 100 monasteries with 10,000 priests. 2096 In Kongkanapura there were about 100 monasteries and ten thousand priests. 9007 In Maharastra there were about 100 monasteries and 5,000 priests. \*\* Hiuen Tsang\*\*\* makes particular mention of Acara's monastery in Maharastra where Dignaga, the Buddhist Bull in discussion 'is said to have resided frequently. According to him, south of Kanchipuram there was "a large monastery which was a rendezvous

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sess Ibid.
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soss Ibid., p. 133.

<sup>2007</sup> Barahat or Varaha ?

Beal-Life of Hiven Tsang, p. 134.

sosa Ibid.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Ibid . p. 136.

sees Ibid.

<sup>2007</sup> Ibid., p. 146.

<sup>2084</sup> Ibid. p. 132.

soss Takakusu's I-Tsing, pp. 62-65.

<sup>2000</sup> Takakusu's I-Tsing, pp. 62-64.

seso Ibid.

<sup>9000</sup> Ibid, p. 135.

sosa Ibid.

<sup>9000</sup> Ibid., p. 144.

sees Ibid., p. 147.

sees Watters-Yuan Chwang, Vol. II. p. 122,

shout 100 monasteries and 20,000 priests who studied the Little Vehicle and belonged to the Sammatiya school. The people of this country in their manners are polished and agreeable. They exceedingly love the fine arts. In all the five Indies, Malava on the south-west and Magadha on the north-east alone have the renown of loving the study of literature, of honouring virtue (or goodness) and of polite language and finished conversation." In the kingdom of Vallabhi there are about 100 monasteries and 6000 priests who study the Little Vehicle according to the Sammatiya school. 100

#### A MONASTERY IN PARVATA.

In the country of Parvata by the side of the capital there is a great monastery with about 100 priests, all of whom study the Great Vehicle. 108 "It was here that Jinaputra master of sästras, formerly composed the Yogacharya-bhūmi-sastra-kārikā. Here also the Master of Sästras Bhadraruchi and the Master of Sästras Gunaprabha, originally became disciples. Because this country had two or three leading priests whose claims for learning might serve for guidance, the Master of the Law stopped here for two years and studied the Mulavidharma-sāstra and the Saddharma-sampārigraha-sāstra and the Prasikṣā-satya-sāstra, as received in the Sammatīya school "." 104

# Mahābodhi monastery.

In Gayā, a king of Ceylon Meghabarna by name built with the permission of the Gupta Emperor Samudragupta a monastery of three storeys, six halls and three towers, enclosed within a wall 30 or 40 feet high. The establishment is called Mahābodhi Saṃghārāma by Hiuen Tsang who saw it accomodating nearly "1000 ecclesiastics, all Mahāyānists of the Sthavira school". This Vihāra belonged to the Theravāda, yet adhered to the Mahāyāna. 106 It was visited by I-Tsing who

save Beal-Life of Hiuen Tsang, p. 148.

<sup>#10#</sup> Ibid., p, 149.

<sup>\*</sup>i\*\* Ibid., pp. 159-53.

<sup>9400</sup> Hisen Thrang, III. p. 467 Seq.

<sup>2101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>#103</sup> Ibid., p. 152.

p. 136,

worshipped here the image of the real face of the Buddha. 107 He also refers to the miraculous power possessad by the Naga Mahamukilinda of this vihara. \$108 For the purpose of announcing hours to the monastics there was a clepsydra in this monastery where a bowl is immersed sixteen times between morn and midday. 2109 This monastery was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Chiu in the middle of the seventh century who remained here for four years 2110 It was also visited by the Chinese pilgrims-Taou-le, 2111 Hiuen-Ta'i 2112 Hiuen-hau. 113 Taou-sing 2114 and Yuan-hwui. 2115 Mocha-deva, a Cochin-chinese also visited it and died here. 2116 Samphayarma, a man of Samarkand also visited it. 2117 Hwui Lun, a Corean pilgrim otherwise called Prajnavarma also refers to this monastery. 2118 It was also visited by the Chinese pilgrim Wu-hing. 2119 During his residence here Atisa "thrice defeated the Tirthika heretics in religious controversy and thereby maintained the superiority of Buddhism over all other religions in Magadha". 120 When Abhayakara Gupta was at the head of the Buddhist hierarchy of Magadha (that is, towards the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelvth century) there were no less than one thousand monks at Mahabodhi as compared with three thousand at Vikramaśilā and one thousand at Odantapuri. 2121

## TILDHAKA MONASTERY.

There was another monastery at Tiladhaka in Magadha.<sup>2122</sup> It is referred to as Tildaka by Hiuen Tsang.<sup>2123</sup> I-Tsing mentions this monastery as two yojanas distant from Nalanda.<sup>2124</sup> Tildhaka has been

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2107 Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. XXXII.
                                            108 Ibid., p. 39.
*109 Ibid., p. 145.
                                            *110 Beal-Life of Hinen Tsang, Intro-
9111 Ibid., XXIX.
                                                    duction, p. XXVIII.
112 Ibid., XXX.
                                            9118 Ibid.
114 Ibid., XXXI.
                                            9115 Ibid., XXXII.
9110 Ibid., XXXIV.
                                            2117 Ibid., XXXVI.
*110 Ibid., XXXVII.
                                           2119 Chavannes, Memoirs of I-Tsing, p. 144.
2120 S. C Das-Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow, p. 51.
2121 Phanindranath Bose-Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities, pp. 84, 157-58.
2132 Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 184.
                                           Beal-Life of Hiuen Tsang, pp. 102-03;
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see ante, p. 347.

essa Chavannes, Memoires, p. 146 note.

identified with modern Tillara, west of Nalanda. A famous Buddhist scholar and a Master of the Law Jähnachandra by name was in this monastery when I-Tsing visited it. This monastery was visited by another Chinese pilgrim Wu-hing. Near Tiladaha lived a teacher of Logic, from whom Wu-hing learned the logical systems of Jina and Dharmakirti etc. 1228

There was the Pan-da-na (Bandana) monastery, a spot where the great Nirvāṇa was preached by the Buddha. This is no doubt the monastery in Mukuta-bandhana in Kuśinagara referred to in Mahaparinir-vaṇa-sūtra. 130

There was another monastery called the 'Temple of the Heavenly Kings' which was visited by 'two men who lived in Nepal and were the children of the wet-nurse of the Duke-Prince of Tibet'.<sup>2131</sup>

There was another monastery called the 'Sin-che Temple' in the Western country which was visited by the pilgrims Sin-chiu and Chi Hing both of whom lived and died there.<sup>2132</sup> It was also visited by the Corean pilgrim Hwui Lun who lived here for five years,<sup>2133</sup>

There was a monastery at Tamralipti where the pilgrim Tang came and "resided for twelve years, having perfected himself in Sanskrit". 2134

There was another monastery at Tamralipti where the pilgrim Hiuen-ta "remained for one year learning Sanskrit and practising himself in the sabda-sastra". 2125

There was another monastery at Kuśinagar called the 'Parinirvana' Temple' where the pilgrim Tang died. 2156

<sup>21.25</sup> Cunningham—Ancient Geography of India, I. 456.

siss Ibid.

<sup>\*180</sup> IV. 45; S. B. E., Vol. XI. p. 129.

<sup>\$138</sup> Ibid., XXXIV.

<sup>3185</sup> Ibid, XXXVI.

<sup>\$185</sup> Ibid., XL.

<sup>\*130</sup> Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 184.

<sup>2127</sup> Chavannes, Memoires of I-Tsing, p. 144

<sup>\*199</sup> Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 38.

<sup>\*181</sup> Beal—Life of Hinen Tsang, Introduction, p. XXXIII.

assa Ibid., XXXV.

<sup>\$184</sup> Ibid. XXXV.

Then there was the monastery called Tu-ho-lo (Tukhara Temple) which was visited by the Corean pilgrim Hwui Lun. 2187

There was another monastery called the Kapisa Temple which was also visited by the Corean pilgrim Hwui Lun. 188 The priests of this establishment studied the Little Vehicle. 189

Another monastery was called Kiu-lu-kia Temple. "It was two stages to the east of the Mahabodhi monastery. It was built long ago by a king of the Kiu-lu-ka country, a southern Kingdom (Kurukshetra country?)." Recently" says the Korean pilgrim Hwui Lun, "a king called Sun-Army (Adityasena) built by the side of the old temple another which is now newly finished "." 141

Hwui Lun also refers to two monasteries called the Deer Temple and the Tchina (or China) Temple. The latter according to tradition was built by a Mahārāja called S'rīgupta for the use of Chinese priests. 2142

Another Chinese pilgrim Tan-Kwong arrived at A-li-ki-lo (Arakan?) where he was reported to have found much favour with the King of that country who built for him, a monastery with books and images.<sup>2148</sup>

Oukong another Chinese pilgrim visited (759-763 A. D.) Kashmere and took there the final vows of a Buddhist monk and spent fully four years engaged, as his itinerary tells us, in pilgrimages to hely sites and in the study of Sanskrit. Though he is said to have studied from day break to nightfall his diligence does not seem to have brought him much literary culture. This is curiously shown by the popular apavramsa forms in which he records the names of monasteries he specially singles out for notice. He mentions two Buddhist monasteries in Udyāna called Sukhāvatī and Padmāvatī. 2144 While Hiuen Tsang mentions only about one hundred convents in Kashmere, Oukong found more than three hundred. 2145

	pp. 341 Sqq.
9144 Ibid.	Onkong, Journal Asiatique, 1895, VI.
9148 Ibid., XXXIX.	2144 Levi and Chavannes-L' Itineraire d'
9161 Ibid.	*14* 1bid.
\$188 lbid.	9240 Ibid.
2187 Ibid., XXXVI.	aiss Ibid.

## MONASTERIES IN KASHMERE.

Kalhana's Rajatarangini also refers to a large number of monasteries in Kashmere. King Surendra of this country built in the country of the Darada a vihara called Narendrabhabana2146 and in his own kingdom built a vihāra called Saurasa. 2147 King Jalauka built the vihāra of Jalon. 148 Kalhana refers to the Dharmaranya vihāra in Vitastatra. 149 King Julauka also built the Krtyasrama vihāra. 2150 Dr. Stein in his "Notes on Oukong's Account of Kashmere" has identified this vihara with the "montste'-re du mont ki-tche" visited by Oukong. King Juska built Juskapura with its vihara. 2151 Kalhana refers to a vihara at Kinnaragrāma. 2152 Kalhana refers to the burning by king Nara of thousands of vihāras. 1153. King Meghabāhana's queen Amrtaprabhā built a vihara called Amrtabhavana.2154 In his Notes on Oukong2155 Stein has identified this vihāra with the monastery of Ngo-mi-to-po-wan mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim. Yukadevi, another wife of king Meghabāhana built at Nadavana a vihāra of wonderful appearance. \*156 adradevi, another wife of King Meghabahana built another vihara called Indrad-vibhabana. 2157 Many vihacas of renown were built by other queens of Meghabahana such Khadana and Samma, under their own names. 2158 Jayendra, the maternal uncle of king Pravarasena II (of Kashmere) built the illustrious Jayendravihāra. 2159 Hiuen Tsang also visited and halted at this vihara for purposes of study.2160 queen of king Durlabhaka, Prakasadevi by name, founded the Prakasika-vihars. 2161 In the reign of King Ksemagupta (950-958 A. D.) Damara Samgrama when attacked by assasians entered this monastery and the king Ksemagupta therefore had the latter burned down without

<sup>\*146</sup> Rajatarangini, Bk. I. 93; Stein, The Chronicles of Kashmere, Vol. I. p. 17. \*147 Rajatar., I. 94; Stein, I. 17. 1148 Rajatar., I. 98; Stein, I. 18.

<sup>\*14\*</sup> Rajatar., L. 103; Stein, I. 19. \*150 Rajatar., I. 147; Stein, I. 26.

<sup>3151</sup> Rajatar., I. 169; Stein, 1. 30. \*115 Rajatar., I, 199; Stein, I. 34.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Rajatar., I. 200; Stein, I. 34. 2154 Rautar, III. 9; Stein, I. 73. \*\*\* pp. 9 Sqq.

<sup>2150</sup> Rajatar., III. 11; Stein, 1. 73. ansv Rejater, III. 13; Stein, L. 74. 9250 Rajatar., III. 18; Stein, I. 74.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Rajatar., III. 355; Stein, L. 103. 2150 Beal-Life of Hiuen Teang, pp. 69-70; ,s141 Rajatur., IV. 79; Stein, I. 126. see ante, pp. 345-46,

mercy. Taking from this vihara which was entirely burnt down the brass image of Sugata (Buddha) and collecting a mass of stones from the decaying temples he erected the temple of Siva. 2162 He also took thirty-six villages from the burnt vihāra and gave them into the tenure of the Khasa ruler. 2163 In the reign of Pravarsasena II the minister Moraka built the Morakabhabana monastery. 2164 The ministers of King Yudhisthira II named Sarvaratna, Jaya and Skandagupta built many vihāras. 9165 Bhinnā, wife of King Meghabāhana built a vihāra. 9166 Galūn, minister of King Vikramāditya of Kashmere built a vihara under the name of his wife Ratanbali. 2167 The wife of king vihāra. 9168 Anangabhabana Durlavabardhana built the Lalitāditya-Muktāpīda built while at play (krdan) the vihāra of Krdārāma. 2169 At Huskapura Lalitāditya-Muktāpīda built a large monastery. 2170 In his Notes on Oukong, 2171 Dr. Stein suggests the identification of this vihara with the Moung-ti vihara mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim. This king also built the ever-rich Rajavihara. He also built the wonderful and famous Kayya-vihāra. 2172 Tuhkhāra Cankuna, the chief minister of Lalitaditya Muktapida founded the Cankuna Vihara. 2173 In his Notes on Oukong, 2174 Dr. Stein identifies it with the monastery which figures as "le monastere du general." A second vihāra built by Cankuna at S'rīnagara is referred to in IV. 215.2175 This too bore the founder's name as seen from VIII. Which of these two viharas Oukong may have meant cannot be determined. Cankuna's vihāra at S'rīnagara was repaired by Sussala, the wife of the minister Rilhana under king Jaysimha. 2176 physician Isanachandra, a son-in-law of the minister Cankuna built a

<sup>2162</sup> Rajatar., VI. 171-73; Stein, I. 248.

<sup>2164</sup> Rajatar., III. 356; Stein, I. 103.

<sup>2166</sup> Rājatar., III. 464.

<sup>2166</sup> Rajatar., IV. 3; Stein, I. 120.

<sup>\*170</sup> Rajatar., IV. 188; Stein, I. 140.

<sup>2172</sup> Rajatar., IV. 200; Stein I. 142.

<sup>2174</sup> pp. 19 Sqq.

<sup>\*14</sup> See Rajatar., VIII. 2415 Sqq.

<sup>\*168</sup> Rājatar., VI. 175; Stein, I. 249.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2165</sup> Rājatar., III. 380; Stein, I. 105.

<sup>2167</sup> Rajatar., III. 476; Stein, I. 114.

<sup>2160</sup> Rajatar., IV. 184; Stein, I. 139.

<sup>2171</sup> pp. 3 Sqq.

<sup>2178</sup> Rajatar., IV. 211; Stein, I. 143.

<sup>217</sup> Stein, Vol. I. p. 143.

vihāra. 177 King Jayapida built a large vihāra. 178 In the reign of King Nandigupta (972-973 A. D.) his grandmother Didda built a vihara with a high quadrangle. 2179 Queen Jayamati, wife of King Uccala (1101-11) built a vihara. 2180 King Uccala also built in honour of his sister Sulla a vihāra. 181 Kalhana mentions another monastery Skandhabhabana vihāra in S'inagara where Sussala's queens burnt themselves when the rebels hovering round the city made the usual burning ground at Māksikasvāmin. 2182 Ratnādevi, queen Jayasimha (1128-49 A. D.) built a vihāra. 2188 Rilhana, the chief minister of Jayasimha had a vihāra constructed at the place called Bhalerakaprapa (fountain of Bhaleraka) in honour of his deceased wife Sussala. "This (vihara) became known by the name of her cat which had followed her dead mistress into death instead of forgetting her attachment as is the wont of animals". 2184 Rilhana's wife Sussala also built a vihara. It covered the whole ground of the residence of former royal dynasties and made the whole city a joy to look at. 2185 Bhutta, a minister of Jayasimha founded a town called Bhuttapura which is adorned by great houses with vihāras and mathas. 2188 King Jaysimha completed the Sullavihara founded by his uncle.2187 In the reign of Jayasimha Dhanya commenced the construction of a vihara which was to bear the name of Bijja (vihara) in honour of his deceased wife (Bijja). 2188 Cinta, the wife of the commander-in-chief of Jayasimha Udaya by name adorned the bank of the Vitasta by a vihāra. The five buildings within her vihara appear as if they were the five high fingers of the upraised arm of Law. 2189 There was in Kaslimere the monastery of Ratnarasmi where in the reign of Sri Harsa of Kashmere Dharmottaracārya's Pāralokasiddhi was translated into Tibetan. 2190

a177 Rajatar., IV. 216; Stein, I. 144.

<sup>2178</sup> Rājatar., IV. 507; Stein, I. 167.

<sup>\*1</sup> P. Rajatar., VI. 303; Stein, I. 261.

<sup>2180</sup> Rājatar., VIII. 246; Stein, II. p. 21.

<sup>\*181</sup> Rajatar., VIII. 248; Stein, II. 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9189</sup> Rajatar., VIII. 1442; Stein, II. 113.

<sup>8188</sup> Rājatar., VIII. 2402; Stein, II. 186; Compare VIII. 2433; Stein, II. 189.

<sup>2184</sup> Rajatar., VIII. 2410-11; Stein, II. 186. 2185 Rajatar., VIII. 2417; Stein, II. 187.

<sup>\*186</sup> Rajatar., VIII. 2431; Stein, II. 189. \*187 Rajatar., VIII. 3318; Stein, II. 259.

<sup>\*1\*\*</sup> Rajatar., VIII. 3343; Stein, II. 261. \*18, Rajatar., VIII. 3352-53; Stein, II. 262.

<sup>2100</sup> S. C. Vidyabhūsana—Med. Logic., p. XX. footnote No. 3.

From the Chacha-nama we learn that there was a monastery in Sind called Navavihara. The story (related in the Chacha-nama) of the S'ramana of this vihara shows how Buddhism had drifted by this time into the grossest superstitution and idolatry. An ancestor of the ministerial family of Barmak<sup>2191</sup> was an official of this Nauvihara.

There was another monastery built in Kalinga by the great Buddhist scholar and logician Dharmakirti (about 635—650 A. D.). 2192

Then there was the monastery of Kṛṣṇagiri where Dipānkara S'rī Jnana received his lessons from Rahulagupta. Here he was given the sacret name of Guhyajnana Vajra and initiated into the mysteries of esoteric Buddhism. 2198

From the Moslem accounts of the conquest of Sind we learn that there was a nunnery at Debal in Sind, containing "700 beautiful females under the protection of Buddha".

From an inscription of King S'ivadeva of Nepal, dated 143 S. (-749 A. D.) we learn of a monastery called S'ivadeva vihara for the maintenance of which he assigned lands.

From the Särnath Inscription of Kumaradevi, queen of Govindachandra Gähādavāla of Kanuaj (c. 1114-1155) we learn that the queen founded a Buddhist vihāra commemorated by the inscription. <sup>2194</sup>

## Kaniska mahavihara.

The Ghosrawan Inscription states that one Biradeva after having completed the study of all the different Vedas repaired (in the 9th century A. D.) to Kanisaka Mahavihara in the neighbourhood of Peshwar for further study. In an earlier period this vihara was famous for its school of sculpture. The famous Buddhist relic-casket exhumed from the ruins of the great stupa of Kaniska near Peshwar bears the inscription

superior (abbot of the vihāra)".—Sachau's Alberuni, Preface, p. XXXI.

<sup>\*1\*\*</sup> S. C. Vidyābhūsaņa—Med. Logic, p. 104.

S. C. Das—Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow, pp. 50-51; Phanindranath Bose—Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities, p. 67.

<sup>\$194</sup> Ep. Ind., Vol. IX. p. 819, ·

"Dāsa Agisāla navakarmi Kaniskasa vihāre Mahāsenasa saṃghārāme" (the slave Agisāla, the overseer of works at Kaniska's vihāra in the saṃghārāma of Mahāsena). Thus even foreign artists were accepted as teachers by the local Indian sculptors who in their usual way adopted the new methods to their own purposes.

As a result of the explorations carried on at Mathura we learn that the Katra was the site of a Buddhist monastery name Yasi-vihara which was still extant in the middle of the sixth century.

On Jamalpur site there once stood a Buddhist monastery founded by Huvişaka in the year 47 of Kanişka's era.

As a result of recent excavations carried on at Nagar Junikonda (Nagārjuna's Hill) we learn that this ancient Buddhist site on the right bank of the Kṛṣṇā river in the Palnad taluk of the Guntur district of the Madras Presidency contained four Buddhist monasteries. 2195

#### Nalanda Monastery.

But the crest-jewel of Buddhist monasteries was the University of Nālandā of which we possess a somewhat detailed account from the Tibetan and Chinese sources.

<sup>21 05</sup> Liberty, Sunday, Feb. 2. 1930, p. 9.

<sup>2206</sup> Beal-Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I. p. LVIII.

General Cunningham observes: "From the total silence of Fa-hien regarding any of the magnificient buildings at Nalanda, which are so minutely described by Hiuen Tsang, I infer that they must have been built after 410. Surely if the lofty temple of Baladitya which was 300 feet in height had then existed, it seems scarcely possible that Fa-hien should not have noticed it". He then points out that according to Hiuen Tsang<sup>2197</sup> four out of the six monasteries at Nalanda were founded by Baladitya, the King of Magadha and his three immediate predecessors. Bālāditya was a contemporary of Mihirakula, the Huna ruler of Western India. Mihirakula began his reign in 510 A. D. 198 and therefore his contemporary Balalitya also lived about that time Baladitya his three immediate predecessors viz., Tathagata, Buddhagupta and Sakrāditya each built one monastery at Nālandā. If we take 25 years as the average of each reign then Sakraditya can be said to have reigned about 435 A. D. The date of the temple may therefore be about 435 A. D. General Cunningham would therefore "assign the probable date of the temple and monasteries to the two centuries between the visits of Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang or from A. D. 425 to 625". 2199

Hiven Tsang records that the great temple of Balāditya was similar to that of the Bodh Gayā temple. As similarity of style may be taken as denoting proximity of date the erection of Balāditya's temple may, with great probability, be assigned to the same century in which the Vajrāsana temple (built by king Vajra of Magadha) at Nālandā was built. Dr. Spooner during his excavations at Pātalīputra has made the discovery of a terra-cotta plaque which bears the illustration of a temple. Dr. Spooner supposes this to be the illustration of the temple of Bodh Gayā. The plaque also contains some characters in Kharosthi. Now the Kharosthi script was introduced into India in the second century A. D. and so it may be surmised that the Bodh Gayā temple was built during the Kushana time. Spooner the Balāditya temple at Nālandā was also built during the Kushana time.

<sup>\*107</sup> Watters-Yuan Chwang, I. p. 289.

<sup>\*198</sup> V. A. Smith-Early History of India, p. 316.

<sup>\*200</sup> Arch. Survey Reports, Vol. I. p. 29.

<sup>2200</sup> Annual Report of the Archmological Survey, Eastern Circle, 1913-14, p. 71.

According to Professor S. V. Venkateswara. 1201 "it is likely that Sakraditya is another name of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya of the Gupta lineage, who appears in some records as Devarāja (Sakra). If so, the monastery was built by that king, who as we know, had Buddhist subordinates. The result would tally with Yuan Chwang's description of Nālandā as having been planned after Bodh Gayā, and with the archæological view that it was modelled on Sārnāth. Dr. Spooner 2202 would place the ruins of Sārnāth as early as the Kushana period. He assures us that there are four monasteries of different periods built one over the ruins of another".

Hwui-li in his Life of Hiuen Tsang remarks that the Nalanda monastery was founded 700 years before the time of Hiuen Tsang. 2203 "This remark clears up the date of Sakrāditya, the founder of the first monastery at Nalanda. The expression, therefore in the Si-yu-ki 'not long after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha '2204 must be taken, cum grano, to mean 'a good while after'. 2205 The foundation of the Nalanda monastery would then be about 80 B. C."2106

All that we can say is that no definite conclusion can be arrived at unless there is thorough excavation of the sites; and until we see the actual plinth of the temple itself, it would be hazardous to come to a definite conclusion.

Regarding the name of the monastery Hiuen Tsang observes: "The old accounts of the country say that to the south of this Sampharama, in the middle of an amra grove, there is a tank. The Naga of this tank is called Nalanda. By the side of it is built the Sampharama, which, therefore, takes the name (of the Naga). But the truth is that Tathagata in old days practised the life of a Bodhisattva here, and became the king of a great country and established his capital

<sup>2501</sup> Indian Culture Through the Ages, Vol. I. pp. 228-29.

<sup>2302</sup> Archeological Survey (Eastern Circle): Annual Report for 1916-17 pp. 2 and 43.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Beal-Life of Hiuen Tsang, p. 112.

<sup>2204</sup> Beal—Budhhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II. p. 168.

<sup>\*205</sup> Beal-Life of Hinen Tsang, p. 112 footnote.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Thid., Introduction, p. XX footnote,

in this land. Moved by pity for all living things he delighted in continually relieving them. In remembrance of this virtue he was called "Charity without intermission"—Na-alam-da—and the Samghārāma was so called in perpetuation of this name." According to I-Tsing the name of Nalandā is derived from Nāga Nanda. Hwui Lun, a Korean pilgrim to India observes: "The temple is called S'rī Nālandā Vihāra after the name of the Nāga called Nanda." 2209

This famous University was situated in the modern village of Bargaon about eight miles from Rājgīr in Behar. The identification of Nālandā with Bargaon tallies with the description of the site in the Buddhist scriptures as a yojana distant from Rājagrha, where was a mango park in Buddha's time and with Hiuen Tsang's location of it as five miles distant from New Rājagrha. Inscriptions found in the ruins at Bargaon in amount in Nālandā, which means insatiable in giving or not giving enough as curiosity once excited and thought once stimulated could not be satisfied. The derivation is, in any case, a commentary on the ideal of University education—not cramming the mind with knowledge, but creating an insatiable thirst for it.

The University consisted of six monastic colleges. 'King Sakrāditya built the first monastery. After his decease his son Buddha-gupta-raja continued the vast undertaking and built towards the south another monastery. Then his son (successor) Tathāgata-rāja built a monastery to the east. Next his son (or direct descendant) Balāditya built a monastery to the north-east. His son Vajra built another monastery to the north. After him a king of Mid-India built by the side of this another monastery. Thus six kings in connected succession added to these structures.'2212 "Moreover, the whole

Beal-Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II. pp. 167-68; Compare Beal-Life of Hiuen Tsang, p. 110.

<sup>2208</sup> J. R. A. S., New Series, Vol. XIII, p. 571.

<sup>9809</sup> Beal-Life of Hiuen Tsang, Introduction, p. XXXVII.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2210</sup> Majjhima Nikāya, I. 371; Digha Nikāya, I. 211, 212; II. 81, 86.

ass11 Annual Report of the Arch. Surv. of India for 1915-16, Part I. pp. 12 and 13.

<sup>9212</sup> Beal-Life of Hiven Tsang, pp. 110-11,

establishment is sufrounded by a brick wall, \*\*1\*\* which encloses the entire convent from without. One gate opens into the great College, from which are separated eight other halls, standing in the middle of the convent. The richly adorned towers and the fairy-like turrets, like pointed hill-tops, are congregated together. The observatories seem to be lost in the vapours (of the morning) and the upper rooms tower above the clouds. From the windows one may see how the winds and the clouds (produce new forms) and above the soaring eaves the conjunction of the Sun and the Moon (may be observed). And then we may add how the deep, translucent ponds, bear on their surface, the blue lotus intermingled with the Kie-ni (Kanaka) flower, of deep red colour and at intervals the Amra groves spread over all, their shade."\*\*

"All the outside courts, in which are the priests' chambers, are of four stages. The stages have dragon-projections and coloured eaves, the pearl-red pillars, carved and ornamented, the richly adorned balustrades, and the roofs covered with tiles reflect the light in a thousand shades, these things add to the beauty of the scene." 2215

From the Tibetan accounts 2 \$1 6 we learn that Nālandā had a fine library situated in the quarter known as Dharmagañja (Piety Mart). It consisted of three splendid buildings called Ratnasāgara, Ratnadadhi and Ratnārañjaka, all associated with Ratna, i. e., Jewels, these being the three Jewels of Buddhism—Buddha, Dharma and Samgha. Ratnadadhi was nine-storeyed and in it were kept the sacred scripts called the Prajñāparāmitā Sūtra and Tantric works such as Samāj-guhya etc.

There were also Satras (free-board hostels) where the resident pupils were entertained free and supplied with necessaries out of the endowments to the University. 9 2 1 7

<sup>2218</sup> According to Si-yu-ki this wall was built by a king of Central India,

<sup>2014</sup> Beal-Life of Hinen Tsang, p. 111.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Ibid., pp. 111-112.

site S. C. Vidyabhüşapa—Medizval School of Indian Logic, Appendiz A.

sear Beal-Life of Hinen Tsang, pp. 112-13,

From I-Tsing's account we learn that there was a stone path at Nalanda with lotus flowers carved on it. 2218 During his time there were eight halls and three hundred apartments. 2219

I-Tsing says: "There are more than ten great pools near the Nalanda monastery and there every morning a ghanti is sounded to; remind the priests of the bathing hour. Every one brings a bathing sheet with him. Sometimes a hundred, sometimes a thousand (priests) leave the monastery together, and proceed in all directions towards these pools, where all of them take a bath."

There was a famous well in Nālandā vihāra reputed as Chandra's well.<sup>221</sup> It was so called because Chandragomin thinking that his own commentary on Pāṇini's grammar was no better than the one written by Chand.akirti threw it into this well whence it was afterwards recovered and found to be superior to Chandrakirti's. The water of this well was used to be drunk by people in the belief that their intellect would become sharp thereby.<sup>222</sup> This well reminds us of the famous Akkal-kūvi (well of wisdom) in the Sanskrit College in Dhar.

Hwui Lun, a Korean pilgrim to India, thus describes Nalanda: "This building of Nalanda stands four square, like a city precinct. The gates (porches) have overlapping eaves covered by tiles. The buildings (gates?) are of three storeys, each storey about twelve feet in height. Outside the western gate of the great hall of the temple is a large stupa and various chaityas, each erected over different sacred vestiges, and adorned with every kind of precious substance." 2228

Again, according to Hwui Lun "this (Nālandā) is the only temple in which by imperial order, a water-clock is kept to determine the right time. The night is divided into three watches, during the first and

<sup>22:8</sup> J. R. A. S., New Series, Vol. XIII. p. 571.

<sup>2212</sup> Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 154. 2220 Takakusu's Eng. Trans., pp. 108-09.

<sup>2931</sup> In Sanskrit Chandra-küpa; in Tibetan Tsandrahi-khron-pa.

<sup>2222</sup> S. C. Vidyabhūṣaṇa—History of the Mediseval School of Indian Logic, pp. 122-23.

Beal-Life of Hinen Tsang, Introduction, p. XXXVII; Compare Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 145.

last of which there are religious services; in the middle watch, as the priests may desire, they can watch or repose." The regulation of the clepsydra at Nalandā is fully described by I-Tsing and distinguished from that of the clepsydras in the monasteries of Mahābodhi and Kuśinagara. 2225

Hence the remark of Hiuen Tsang: "The Samgharamas of India are counted by myriads but this is the most remarkable for grandeur and height."2226 In the Si-yu-ki we are told: "A long succession of kings continued the work of building, using all the skill of the sculptor, till the whole is truly marvellous to behold." 2227 And recent excavations 2228 have shown how the buildings were made of bricks of a very good quality and admirable texture-"fitted together so perfectly that in some places the joints between the bricks are altogether inconspicuous." As Dr. Spooner has observed: "As brick work, the construction is remarkable, far superior to any modern work that I have seen in recent years."2229 Indeed it does not require any great gift of imagination to reconstruct in mind what marvels these colleges would have been architecturally. To students familiar with the remains of Buddhist art either in the form of massive structural work as at Boro Budur in Java or in the form of fresco-painting such as have been preserved at Ajanta, Sigri and other subterranean monasteries, it is easy to realise what magnificent edifices would have housed the great University which was the pride of the Buddhist world.

On account of the rich endowments to the University (which we shall describe in a later chapter) "the students here (at Nalanda), being so abundantly supplied do not require to ask for the four requisites (i. e., clothes, food, bedding and medicine). This is the

<sup>9294</sup> Beal-Life of Hiuen Teang, Introduction, p. XXXVII.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 145.

Beal—Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II. p. 170.

Annual Report of the Arch. Survey, Eastern Circle, for 1915-16, pp. 115-118.

sass Ibid.

Hiven Tsang while at Nalanda received each day 120 Jambiras (a fruit); 20 Pin-long-tseu (areca nut), 20 tau-k'au (nutmegs), an ounce (tael) of camphor and a ching (peck) of Mahāśali rice". \*\*2\*\*\* "Every month he was presented with three measures of oil and daily a supply of butter and other things according to his need". \*\*2\*\*\* "In the Nālanda convent the abbot entertains a myriad priests after this fashion, for, besides the Master of the Law (Hiuen Tsang) there were men from every quarter: and where in all their wanderings have they met with such courteous treatment?". \*\*2\*\*\*\*

In a previous chapter (see ante, p. 157) we have referred to the rigid test for admission into the University held by the dwarapandita. We have also already described the curriculum of studies (see ante, pp. 66-70) and the method of teaching at Nalanda (see ante, pp. 178-79). Hiuen Tsang during his visit to Kanchipura met two eminent Ceylonese priests with 300 other priests who, however, when asked to explain some choice passages of the Yogasastra "were not able to explain any of them as S'ilabhadra (of Nalanda) did." 2284 also had a similar favourable impression of Nalanda. He stayed in this monastery for ten years, studied for a considerable time and collected some four hundred Sanskrit texts amounting to 500,000 ślokas. many distinguished teachers with whom He mentions by name he conversed and says: "I have already been very glad that I had the opportunity of acquiring knowledge from them personally which I should otherwise never have possessed."2385 Besides such studies the teachers and students of Nalanda occupied themselves with copying manuscripts Thus, in the Bodelian Library, Cambridge there is an Astasahasrikā Prajnaparamitā copied at Nalanda in the regnal year of Mahipala. 2236 In the Library of the Asiatic Society

some vocation like Johanen the shoe-maker, Simon the weaver or Joseph the carpenter.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Ibid., p. 109.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Ibid., p. 110.

<sup>9998</sup> Takakusu's I-Tsing, pp. 184, 185.

<sup>\$959</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2534</sup> Ibid., p. 140.

<sup>2220</sup> Bendell's Catalogue.

of Bengal there is a fine manuscript, Astasahasrikā Prajňāparāmitā, copied at Nālandā by Kalyāṇamitra Chitāmaṇi in the sixth regnal year of Mahipala which was discovered in Nepal by Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprosād S'āstrī. 2237 In the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland there is a manuscript Astasahasrikā Prajňāparāmitā copied at Nālandā in the fourth regnal year of Govindapāla. 2238 In the Bedelian Library, Cambridge there is a manuscript Astasahasrikā Prajňāparāmitā copied at Nālandā by Grahapakundu in the fourth regnal year of Rāmpāla. 2239

In Nalanda besides the Dwara-pandita there were among others three important officers: the Ching-fa tsong (treasure of the good law), corresponding to the Chancellor of a modern University; the Karmadāna, sub-director of the monastery and the Sthavira (presiding priest). \*\*2\*40\* Hwui Lun, a Korean who visited Nalandā after Hiuen-Tsang remarks: "The superior is a very old man; the Karmadāna or Vihāraswāmī or Vihārapāla is the chief officer after the Superior and to him the utmost deference is paid."\*\*2\*2\*1\* From I-Tsing's account we learn that the Karmadāna had to exercise a general superintendence over all monastic works, \*\*2\*4\*2\* to arrange the order of seats to be occupied by the priests \*\*2\*4\*3\* and to announce the time according to the clepsydra from sunset till dawn. \*\*2\*4\*4\*

The head (i. e., Chancellor) of the Nalanda monastery in Hiuen-Tsang's time was S'albhadra who was preceded in this office by Dharmapala. 2345 In the middle of the eighth century the great Tantric scholar Kamalasila by name (728-776 A. D.) was at the head of this

Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1909, p. 69.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> J. R. A. S., New Series, VIII. 1876, p. 3.

<sup>2230</sup> Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodelian Library, Vol. II. p. 250.

<sup>2241</sup> Ibid., Introduction, p. XXXVII.

<sup>\*\*45</sup> Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 84. 2248 Ibid., p. 102.

<sup>2244</sup> Ibid., p. 145.

<sup>204</sup> Beal-Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II. p. 171.

establishment.<sup>2246</sup> In the reign of Nyāyapāla (—1042) Dipāńkara S'rijñāna was the Chancellor.<sup>2247</sup> From the Ghosrawan Inscription<sup>2248</sup> we find that Vīradeva, an inhabitant of Nagarhara was installed by king Devapāla as the High-priest of Nālandā.

The number of students residing here amounted to 10,000 in Hiuen-Tsang's time<sup>2249</sup> while in I-Tsing's time the number (of students) exceeded three thousand.<sup>2250</sup> In the time of Hiuen Tsang out of the 10,000 inmates of the convent 1,510 were teachers who between them delivered 100 different discourses on diverse subjects every day.<sup>2251</sup>

There were many eminent teachers at Nalanda, famous for their conspicuous talent, solid learning, great ability and illustrious virtue. Saraha, the tutor and spiritual guide of Nagarjuna increased very much the splendour and usefulness of this University. Nagarjuna, 2254 the founder of the school of Madhyamika philosophy was one of the early founders of this vihara. Deva or Aryadeva 2255 was a pupil of Nagarjuna and a great pandita of Nalanda. He was the author 2256 of three Sanskrit books one of which he wrote at Nalanda vihara. According to Hiuen Tsang 2257 he visited the countries of Mahakośala, Srughna, Prayaga, Chola and Vaiśali, in all of which he won great renown by defeating the Tirthikas and preaching the true doctrines of Buddha. Arya Asanga also lived as a pandita in Nalanda

S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa—Med. Logic, pp. 129-30; P. N. Bose—Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities, pp. 131-32; Waddel—Lamaism, p. 31; Journal of the Buddhist Text Society, Vol. I. Part I. p. 10.

<sup>3347</sup> S. C. Das-Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow, pp. 51f.

asas Ind. Aut., XVII. pp. 307-12.

<sup>2251</sup> Beal-Life of Hiuen Tsang p. 112.

<sup>2252</sup> Beal-Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II. p. 171.

<sup>2255</sup> S. C. Das-Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow, p. 48.

<sup>9954</sup> Geschichte des Buddhismus Von Schiefner, pp. 66, 69-73.

<sup>2255</sup> Ibid., pp. 83-86, 93.

S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's "Indian Logic as preserved in Tibet" No. 3, in the J. A. S. B., New Series, Vol. III. No. 7, 1907.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2357</sup> Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I. Bk. IV. pp. 186-190; Bk. V. p. 231; Vol. II. Bk. X. pp. 210, 227; Bk. XII. p. 302, Bk. VIII. pp. 98-102.

for some years. \*\* He wrote twelve works, most of which still exist in their Chinese and Tibetan versions. 2259 Vasubandhu 2260 like his elder brother Asanga was a follower of the Yogacara school of the Mahāyana and the author of a large number of books 2861 including the Tarkaśastra. Three other works on Logic called in Chinese Ronki, Ronshiki and Ronshin are also attributed to him. 2262 Dharmapala, a native of Kānchipura was a student of Nalanda of which he subsequently became the head. He was a famous logician and grammarian and wrote a Sanskrit commentary on "Chandra grammar" and four Buddhist books in Sanskrit. S'ilabhadra, a native of Samatata (Lower Bengal) was a pupil of Dharmapala at Nalanda of which he subsequently became the head. While yet a student at Nalanda he defeated in a debate a proud-Brahmin who came from S. India to engage his guru<sup>\$265</sup> Dharmapala in a discussion. Both I-Tsing and Hinen Tsang 2264 refer to his profound learning and it was under him that the latter learnt Sanskrit at Nalanda. 2265 He wrote many books, only one of which—that on Logic has come down to us. Sthirmati was a famous scholar at Nalanda 2966 where at the temple of Tarabhattarika he translated a Sanskrit book into Tibetan. 2267 He was particularly proficient in the Kalapa system of Sanskrit grammar. He wrote nine books, translated into Tibetan seven and undertook the revision and correction of the Tibetan version of ten books. 2268 Chandragomin, 2269 a native Varendra, was a pupil of Sthirmati at Nalanda and the author of about sixty works, five of which were on Buddhist Tantricism. S'anta Raksita<sup>2 2 7 0</sup> was a professor at

<sup>2256</sup> Geschichte des Buddhismus Von Schiefner, p. 122.

Bunyin Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, Appendix I. No. 5.

<sup>2360</sup> Beal—Bud. Records of the Western World, Vol. II. p. 171.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8861</sup> Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese TripItaka Appendix I. No. 6.

<sup>2262</sup> Dr. Sugiura's "Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan", p. 32.

<sup>2264</sup> Watters—Yuan Chwang II. p. 168.

<sup>2265</sup> Ibid., p. 109.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Cordier-Catalogue du Fond Tibetain, II. p. 26.

<sup>2200</sup> P. N. Bose-Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities pp. 133-86.

<sup>2260</sup> Ibid., pp. 116-123.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Ibid., pp. 123-26; S. C. Vidyabhūsana—Med. Logic, pp. 124-25,

Nalanda whence at the request of the Tibetan king Khri-sron-dea-tank he visited Tibet where he worked for thirteen years and helped the king to build the first Buddhist monastery in Tibet after the model of Odantapuri. He was the author of two works on Logic. Padmasambhaba, 2971 a native Udyāna was a pupil of Sinta Raksita and an expounder of the Yogachara school of Tantricism at. whence he went at the request of the Tibetan King Khri-sron-deu-tsan to Tibet where he introduced the Tantric element in Tibetan Buddhism and helped Santa Raksita in the construction of the Sam-ye monastery. Vinita Deva 2272 was another teacher at Nalanda who wrote the famous Samayabhedoparacana-chakra and six books on Logic. 2278 Kamalasila 2274 was for sometime a professor of Tantras at Nalanda whence at the request of the Tibetan King Khri-srong-deu-tsan he went to Tibet where he vindicated the religious views of his guru Padmasambhaba and Santa Raksita by defeating and expelling a Chinese monk Mahayana He was the author of five works, two of which are on Logic. Buddhakirti<sup>2275</sup> who translated a Sanskrit book on Tantricism into Tibetan was associated with the University of Nalanda and when Abhayakaragupta of Vikramasilā came here he helped him in translating a Sanskrit book into Tibetan. Kumāra S'rī, Karņa S'rī, Sūryadhwaja and Sumati Sena were other teachers associated with Nalanda vihara. 9976 Acarya Devavid Simha 2277 was another teacher of Nalanda under whom Thon-mi the Tibetan messenger of King Sron-tsan-gampo of Tibet studied the sacred literature of the Brahmins and the Buddhists. Another teacher of Nālandā was Prabhākaramitra who was taken to China in 627 A. D. by a Chinese embassy to organise the work of the translation of sacred texts there. 2275 Jinamitra 2279 was another

<sup>9971</sup> Ibid., 126-31.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Geschichte des Buddhismus Von Schiefner, pp. 195-98; 272.

sars S. C. Vidyābhūsana-Med. Logic, pp. 119-21.

<sup>1914</sup> Ibid., pp. 129-30; P. N. Bose-Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities, pp. 181-32.

<sup>2278</sup> P. N. Bose-Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities, p. 137.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Ibid., 138-42.

<sup>2277</sup> S. C. Das-Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow (1893) p. 48.

<sup>2278</sup> Dr. P. C. Bagchi-India and China, p. 14; Dr. U. N. Ghosal-Ancient Indian Culture in Afganisthan, p. 27.

teacher of Nzlandz who visited Tibet<sup>2380</sup> and helped the Tibetans in the work of translating Sanskrit books into Tibetan.<sup>2381</sup> Hiuen Tsang<sup>2388</sup> mentions the names of many other teachers: 'Chandrapzla who excited by his bequeathed teaching the thoughtless and the worldly; Gunamati the streams of whose superior teaching spread abroad even now; Prabhāmitra with his clear discourses; Jñānachandra, Sīghrabuddha and other eminent men whose names are lost.' "These illustrious personages known to all, excelled in their attainments all their distinguished predecessors and passed the bounds of the ancients in their learning. Each of these composed tens of treatises and commentaries which were widely diffused and which for their perspecuity are passed down to the present time." 2288

The fame of these teachers helped in attracting students and scholars from all parts of India and even from abroad. Hiuen Tsang says: "Learned men from different cities, on this account, who desire to acquire quickly a renown in discussion, come here in multitudes to settle their doubts and then (the streams of their wisdom) spread far and wide". 2284 Some of these came even from Mongolia 2985 and Thus Nalanda was an international educational centre in Korea, 2286 in the seventh century, when Europe was in the darkest watch of the long night of the Middle ages, when even the Saracenic schools and Arabic seats of learning had not yet been founded. And so great was the value of the hall-mark of this University that according to Hiuen Tsang "some persons usurp the name (of Nalanda students) and in going to and fro receive honour in consequence". 9987 The enthusiasm of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang and I-Tsing for their Alma Mater may have been coloured but the conscientous and upright monks and the

<sup>2270</sup> Beel's Buddhist Records of the Western World, II. p. 171.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Geschichte des Buddhismus Von Schisfner, p. 226.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> S. C. Vidyäbhüşapa—Med. Logic, p. 135.

assa Beal—Bud. Records, II. p. 171.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Ibid., Vol. II. p. 170.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 26.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Beal-Life of Hiuen Teang, Introduction, pp. XXIX, XXX and XXXVI.

see? Beal-Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II. p. 170.

careful and painstaking students whose lives were one long record of perseverance in the cause of learning are certainly not to give anything but a strictly honest description of what they saw. In the case of Nālandā especially, their testimony is one of the highest value as both of them were in residence in the University for a considerable period.

Many other foreigners also came to Nalanda. Thus Thon-mi who was sent to India by king Sron-tsan-gampo of Tibet after learning from Lipidatta the sections of Nagri and Gatha characters came to Nālandā where under Achārya Devavid Simha he studied the sacred literature of the brahmanas and the Buddhists. 2988 Hiuen-Chiu. a Chinese pilgrim remained in Nalanda for three years in the latter half of the seventh century. 2289 Another Chinese Taou-hi studied books of the Great Vehicle and wrote (copied?) some four hundred chapters of sutras and sastras whilst at Nalanda. 2290 Aryabarman, a man of Sin-lo (Korea) dwelt in the Nalauda Temple, copying out many sutras. 2221 Hwui-nich, another Korcan, studied the sacred books at Nalanda (about 638 A. D.). 2292 Buddha-dharma, a man of To-ho-shi-li (Tushara or Taurkhāra) was found by I-Tsing at Nalandā. 2998 A Chinese Taou-sing also visited Nalanda (about 649 A. D.). 2254 Tang also went to Nalanda. 9295 Hwui Lun, a Korean refers to Nalanda. 9296 Taou-lin studied the Kosa at Nalanda for a year or two. 2297 remained in Nalanda for ten years.2298 Wou Hing studied the Yoga, Koşa and other works at Nalanda where he died in the end. 2999

Dr. Kielhorn has calculated on palæographic grounds from the Ghosrawan Inscription which refers to the appointment of Viradeva as High-priest of Nalandā by Devapāla (825-50 A. D.) that the glories of Nālandā vanished from the latter half of the nineth century. 2500 But we

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2288 S. C. Das—Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow, p. 48.

2289 Beal—Life of Hiuen Tsang, Introduction, p. XXVIII.

2290 Ibid., p. XXIX.

2291 Ibid., pp. XXIX—XXX.

2292 Ibid., pp. XXX—XXXI.

2293 Ibid., pp. XXXIV—XXXV.

2294 Ibid., pp. XXXIV—XXXV.

2295 Ibid., pp. XXXVIII.

2296 Ibid., XL

2298 Ibid., XLXVIII.

2299 Ibid., XLXII.

2299 Ibid., XLXII.

2299 Ibid., XLXII.

2299 Ibid., XII.
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shall presently adduce evidences which go to show that Nalanda was in a flourishing condition even in later years. Thus in the fifth regnal year of Mahipala (980-1026 A. D.) Astasasrikā Prajňaparamita was copied at Nalanda which is now preserved in the library at Cambridge. 9801 same manuscript was copied at Nālandā in the sixth regnal year of the same king which is now preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. 2802 In the reign of Nyavapala (-1042) Dipankara Śrijnana. the head of this convent went to Tibet at the request of its king. 2808. In the fourth regnal year of Ramapala (ac. 1084) a manuscript was copied at Nalanda by one Grahanakundu. 2804 In the fourth regnal year of Govindapala (ac. 1164) a manuscript was copied at Nālandā. 2305 That these manuscripts were copied at Nalanda and that its head in the reign of Nyayapala (-1042) went to Tibet at the request of the Tibetan king shows that Nalanda was able to retain its fame as a centre of culture at least as late as the middle of the eleventh century. 2306 Vikramasila rose as a rival and while its head Atisa was proceeding towards Tibet, the latter's Tibetan interpreter was staying at Nalanda. 2807 Again the Tibetan monk who was sent by the king of Tibet to take Atisa there from Vikramasila stayed on his way at Nalanda. 2308 Nyayapala Nalanda's decadence commenced. Lāmā Tārānāth remarks that the professors of Vikramasīlā watched over the affairs of In Taranath we are also told of one acharya who was a dwāra-paņdita at both Vikramasīlā and Nālandā. 2310 Two causes contributed to Nalanda's decay: -(i) its buildings despite repairs and reconstructions at

<sup>9801</sup> Bendell's Catalogue.

<sup>2302</sup> Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1909, p. 69.

<sup>2303</sup> S. C. Das-Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow, pp. 51f.

<sup>2304</sup> Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodelian Library, Cambridge, Vol. II. p. 250.

<sup>2505</sup> J. R. A. S., New Series, VIII. 1876, p. 3.

<sup>2306</sup> Compare the view of M. M. H. P. Sästri in his Ramacharita, p. 12.

<sup>\$307</sup> S. C. Das-Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow.

<sup>2806</sup> Ibid.

<sup>•</sup>so• Geschichte des Buddhismus Von Schiefner, p. 218.

<sup>\*\* 10</sup> Ibid., p. 286; See also Ibid., p. 250.

must have become old and dilapidated and (ii) rival University of Vikramasila which became the premier educational establishment of Northern India seemed to monopolised all royal patronage. The Turuska invaders gave a crushing blow to Nalanda but it survived these Muhammedan raiders, for, we are told by the Pag-jon-sam-Zang that its temples and chaityas were repaired by a sage named Mudita Bhadra. \*\* Soon after this Kukutasiddha, a minister of the king Magadha erected a temple at Nalanda. When a sermon was being delivered in the temple two very poor Tirthika mendicants appeared on the scene. Some naughty young notice monks threw some dirty water on them in disdain. Angry at this treatment these mendicants after propitiating the Sun for twelve years, performed a fire sacrifice and threw living embers and ashes from the sacrificial pit into the Nalanda temples. This produced a great conflagration which destroyed among others the fine library.2818 That Nalanda was destroyed by fire is proved by the Baladitya inscription discovered in 1864 by Captain Marshall among the ruins of Nalands. This inscription is now preserved in the Calcutta Musuem and it refers to the re-building of a temple after its destruction by fire. 2314

# THE VIKEAMASILA MONASTERY.

The monastic University of Vikramasila according to Tibetan chronicles, was situated in Behar on a hill on the right bank of the Ganges state of Silao near Borgaon. Mr. Cunningham suggested the village of Silao near Borgaon. This is out of the question as the Ganges could never have been near it, nor is there

<sup>2811</sup> Dr. Spooner observes: "It can now be demonstrated that upon this one spot four separate and successive monasteries have been erected through a series of centuries, each being erected over the ruins of the previous one and the second in date enveloping the oldest." (Arch. Surv. Report, Eastern Circle, 1916-17, p. 2).

<sup>8818</sup> S. C. Vidyabhūjana—History of the Mediæval School of Indian Logic, p. 147.

<sup>2818</sup> Ibid., Appendix A.

<sup>3314</sup> Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, IV. (New Series), p. 106, See also Arch. Surv. Report, III p. 122.

<sup>3818</sup> Geschichte des Buddhismus Von Schiefner, pp. 234-49.

<sup>9616</sup> Arch. Surv. Report, Vol. VIII. p. 83.

any hill near to it. Mr. Nundo Lal De's identification with Pātharghātā hill, twenty-four miles to the east of Bhāgalpur seems to be right, for, it is on the right bank of the Ganges and has a sufficient space for many temples and buildings and a quadrangle accommodating 8,000 men. \*\*S17\* There are also ruins of Buddhist images at Pātharghātā.

According to tradition the vihāra was named after a Yakṣa called Vikrama who was suppressed here.<sup>2518</sup> As it was founded by King Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty, it was known as the *Royal* University of Vikramasīlā.<sup>2319</sup>

Dharmapala furnished it with four establishments each consisting of 27 monks belonging to the four principal sects of Buddhism. Later on other buildings were added so that it came to have six colleges, a central hall called the House of Science and four Satras or free-board hostels. There was also a large quadrangle which could accommodate an assembly of 8,000 persons. There was in the centre the temple with Mahabodhi images. Within the enclosure fifty-three smaller temples of a private character and fifty-four ordinary temples were set up. Thus the total number of temples within the compound of the monastery was one hundred and eight. 2520 There was also a "house assigned for the use of the Tibetans" in this monastery. 9321 It was surrounded by a wall, with six gates which opened on its six colleges. In its front wall, on the right of the principal entrance, was painted the likeness of Nagarjuna, once the head of the Nalanda monastery and on the left, the portrait of Atisa, the head of this (Vikramasila) monastery. At the gate outside the wall, there was a dharmasala for strangers who arrived late after the closing of the gate. 2322 It is no wonder, therefore, that the Tibetans would take Vikramasila as a model for one of their monasteries.

It was managed by a board of six members presided over by the High-priest. There were six dwara-panditas at the six gates who used

<sup>\*\*</sup> J. A. S. B., Vol. V. No. 1. p. 7.

<sup>2518</sup> S. C. Das in the Journal of the Buddhist Text Society, Vol. I. pp. 10-11.

<sup>3819</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

3889 S. C. Das—Indian Pundits in the

Land of Snow, p. 58.

2880 P. N. Bose—Indian teachers of

Buddhist Universities, p. 34.

8880 Ibid.

to examine the candidates for admission in the same way as the dwarapandita at Nalanda did. Probably these six dwara-panditas were the Principals of the six colleges and they collectively formed the Managing Board of six members with the High-priest as their President. According to Lama Taranath 2828 this board of management kept watch over the affairs of the Nalanda vihara as well. 'If we accept his statement it must be admitted that a spirit of cooperation prevailed between these sister universities. Both were directly under King Dharmapala who might have asked the board of the new university to watch over the older university. Sometimes we find men like Dīpānkara and Abhayakara Gupta working in both the universities. We, however, do not know whether the Nalanda university was conducted under the direction of the panditas of Vikramasīla. What Tārānāth says is this: "Der vorstand dieser Lehrstatte hutette auch Nalanda." '2824 According to Taranath in the roign of Canaka (955-983 A. D.) there were Prajnākaramati at the southern gate, Ratnākara Šānti at the eastern gate, Vagisvarakirti at the western gate, Naropanta at the northern gate Ratnavajra at the first central gate and Jnana-śri-mitra at the second central gate. The last two panditas who taught theology in the central college were called the first and second "pillars" of the University. The Central hall called the House of Science was used for studying the Prajnaparamita scriptures. The Managing Board of six members granted the diploma of 'pandita' to all distinguished alumni, the diploma being conferred by the reigning king. 2325 The distinguished logicians acarya Jetari of Varendra and Ratnabajra of Kashmere were granted such a diploma.2326 Yamari who lived in the time of Nyayapāla also received the royal diploma of Vikramasila. 2827 Moreover, the panditas who were eminent for their learning and character were rewarded by having their images painted on the walls of the monastery as in the case of Nagarjuna and Atisa,2828 referred to above.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Geschichte des Buddhismus Von Schiefner, p. 218.

<sup>2834</sup> P. N. Bose-Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities, p. 36.

<sup>2835</sup> S. C. Vidyābhū;apa — History of the Mediæval School of Indian Logic, p. 79.

<sup>2886</sup> Ibid., p. 151. 2527 Geschichte des Buddhismus Von Schiefner pp. 247, 258.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> S. C. Vidyžbhūşapa—Med. Logic, Appendix C.

King Dharmapala, the founder of this monastic University realised that temples and hostels alone would not make the new vihara a centre of culture. Something more was needed-professors. Accordingly her made provision 9899 for no less than one hundred and eight professors and also for a wood-offering (streu opfer) acarya, an ordination acarya a fire-offering (brand-opfer) acarya, a superintendent (bya-ba-bsrun-ba), a guard of pigeons and a supplier of temple servants. In course of time each of the six colleges came to have 108 Professors. Dharmapala endowed it with rich grants out of which Satras were established for supplying gratis food and other necessaries to the inmates including the professors and the students. There were also establishments for temporary residents. 2330 It may be mentioned that the cost of the maintenance of each of these one hundred and and eight professors, three acaryas and three superintendents was ordinarily equivalent to that of four men. We shall see in a later chapter that a Satra was added by one of the sons of King Sanātana of Varendra.

In a previous chapter (see ante, pp. 168, 169-70) we have described the course of studies carried on at Vikramasila. Among its illustrious alumni we may mention the names of Ratna Vajra, (an inhabitant) of Kashmir the author of Yukti-prayoga, who was afterwards made a dwara pandita of his alma mater: 2881 Jnana-śri-mitra the author of Tarka-bhāsā, Kārya-kārana-bhāva-siddhi and Pramana-viniscaya-tikā, who also became one of its dwarapanditas and even its High-priest when Atisa vacated this office in responding to the invitation of the king of Tibet. 2382 and Ratnakirti, author of Pramana-viniścaya. Kalyana-kanda, Apohasiddhi and ksanabhanga-siddhi, who also became one of its dwarapanditas. 2333 Similarly there was Jetari author of Hetu-tattva-upadeśa, Dharma-dharmi-viniścaya and Balavatara-tarka who counted Dīpānkara or Atisa as one of his pupils.2334 We may

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> P. N. Bose-Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities, p. 35.

<sup>2880</sup> S. C. Das in the Journal of the Buddhist Text Society, Part I. pp. 1-10.

<sup>2881</sup> S. C. Vidyābhū;aņa—Med. Logic, p. 139.

<sup>2882</sup> Ibid., p. 138. 2888 Ibid., p. 140 footnote No. 2.

<sup>1884</sup> Ibid., pp. 136-37.

also mention the names Ratnäkara Santi, author of Chhanda-ratnäkara, Vijnapti-mātra-siddhi and Antara-vyāpti, who became one of its dwara-paṇḍitas and afterwards gave an impetus to the Buddhist doctrine in Ceylon where he went at the invitation of its king 2888 and of Jamāri, author of Pramaṇa-vartikālankāra-tika who lived during the reign of Nyāyapāla. 2886

Like Nalanda Vikramasila was famous for its eminent teachers. Taranath \$337 mentions Acārya Buddha Jñānapāda as associated with this University in the early stages of its development. After the death of his guru Simhabhadra he was engaged as the Ordination Priest of Vikramasīlā. Afterwards he was drawn into the cult of Vadschratscharja (vairacarya) in the same University. He was a follower of Tantricism and composed in Sanskrit several books on Tantra, twelve of which now remain only in their Tibetan translations. teacher was Mahapandita (or Mahacarva) Voirochana Raksita (A. D. 728-864 A. D.) who after finishing his education under Padmasambhaba of Tibetan fame joined the University of Vikramasīlā and there engaged himself in composing Buddhist books in Sanskrit and translating twelve books (including two of his own) into Tibetan. Acarya Jetari who flourished in the early part of the tenth century, was himself a student of Vikramasila and became a professor there. It was from him that Ratnakara Santi learnt the texts of Sutra and Tantra at Vikramasila and Dipankara or Atisa the five minor sciences. According to Taranath 2336 he wrote one hundred books, including Tantras and Sütras of which only twenty-two are preserved in their Tibetan versions. Śrī Mahāpandita Prajňākaramati who flourished in the reign of Canaka (955-83 A. D.)2889 was called in Tibetan Nub-kne sgo-glegs-pa which M. P. Cordier 2840 translates as 'gardien de la porte occidentale, du monastere de Vikramasila' (guardian of the western gate

<sup>408</sup> Ibid., p. 140.

<sup>2886</sup> Geschichte des Buddhismus Von Schiefner pp. 247, 253.

<sup>2887</sup> Schiefner's Täränäth, p. 220.

<sup>2000</sup> Cordier-Catalogue du Fond Tibetein, III, p. 279.

<sup>9840</sup> Geschichte des Buddhismus Von Schiefner, p. 135.

of the monastery. Lama Taranath, 2841 however, makes him the gate-keeper of the southern gate. Only two books are ascribed to him in the whole of the Tibetan Tripitaka collection. Mahacarya Ratnakara Stanti received his ordination in the school of Sarvastivada in the Odantapura University and afterwards joined the Vikramašīla University, where he was taught as we have seen the Tantra and Sutra texts by Jetari. On finishing his education here he was appointed in the reign of King Canaka (A. D. 955-983) as dwarapandita of the eastern gate. He afterwards gave an impetus to the Buddhist doctrine in Ceylon where he went at the invitation of its king. 2342 We do not know whether he went to Tibet, but his religious writings were eagerly sought by the Buddhists there, who translated all his thirteen books written in Sanskrit into Tibetan. Lama Taranath speaks of another famous teacher Mahapandita Jaana-śri-mitra who hailed from Ganda and was the guardian of the second central gate of Vikramasila in the reign of (A. D. 955-983). According to King Canaka M. M. S. C. Vidyabhūsana 8844 he was the same person as Jūana-śri-bhadra who worked in Kashmere. He was the author of Sanskrit works, three of which are on Logic. To spread the genius of India in Tibet he learnt Tibetan and translated one of his books into Tibetan. Mahapandita Ratnavajra, a Brahmin of Kashmere, after studying upto his thirty-sixth year, not only the Buddhist sutras and mantras but also most of the Buddhist sciences, visited Vajrāsana (Bodh Gayā) where he mastered all the Buddhist éastras in a very short time and then came to Vikramasila for further study. After he finished the course of studies here, the royal diploma of pandita was awarded to him and soon after he was appointed as keeper of the middle gate 2345 by King Canaka (A. D. 955, 983). After some time he went back to Kashmere where he defeated many Tirthikas in discussion. From Kashmere he went to the country of Udyana, whence towards the end of his career he visited Tibet to spread Buddhism there. He was the author of fourteen Buddhistic books in

<sup>\*\*\* 1</sup>bid., pp. 234, 235, etc.

<sup>8842</sup> S. C. Vidyabhūṣaṇa, Mediæval School of Indian Logic, p. 140.

<sup>8844</sup> Schiefner's Täränäth, pp. 235—42.

seas Schiefner's Taranath, p. 240,

Sanskrit which found their way to Tibet through translations. When in Tibet he learnt Tibetan and translated several books into that language, four of which had come down to us. Mahāpandita Vāgisvara-kirti was an inhabitant of Benares and the author of a Sanskrit book on Tantra which now remains only in its : Tibetan translation. He was appointed as dwara-pandita of the western gate of Vikramasila by King Canaka (A. D. 955-983). Dipinkara Sri Jnina or Atisa like Lord Buddha came of a royal family (of Ganda), a kingdom to the east of Vajrāsana (Bodh Gava) and like him renounced the ease and pleasure of the world and entered the monastery of Kranagiri, where he was trained by Rahula-gupta. At the age of nineteen he took the sacred vows from from Sila Raksita, who was the Mahasanghika acarya of Odantapuri University. At the age of thirty-one he was ordained by Acarya Dharma Raksita in the highest order of viksus. He learnt all the mysteries of Buddhism from Ācārya Chandrakirti, the High-priest of Suvarnadwipa 2846 which was considered the head quarters of Buddhism in the East. After residing there for twelve years, he returned to India, visiting Ceylon on the way. Attracted by the versatility of this profound Buddhist scholar king Nyayapāla (1030-) appointed him to the post of High-priest of Vikramasila At the call of the Buddhist King of Tibet, Chan Chub, he left Vikramasila after much hesitation, for Tibet to reform the Buddhist religion there. 2347 An escort of three hundred horsemen took the sage to the Tibetan King, who welcomed him warmly and surnamed him Jovo Je. 2348 He was the real founder of Lamaism and perhaps the greatest writer of Tibetan Buddhism. About two hundred books—both original and translations—are ascribed to him among which eighty-three are Tantric books in Sanskrit. Viryasimha who popularised Buddhist literature in Tibet appears to have been connected with Vikramasila; for he helped Atisa in the Tibetan translation of two books, made at the vihara of Vikramasila. 2849 Abhayakara-gupta who came

<sup>2846</sup> Identified by Mr. S. C. Das with Sudharmanagar in Pegu Called Thaton.

S. C. Das-Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow (1893) pp. 50-76. Waddell-Lamaism.

<sup>2848</sup> Sans. Prabhu Swāmi.

<sup>2040</sup> Cordier-Catalogue du Fond Tibetain, II. p. 257; Ibid. III. p. 338.

from Ganda was a famous teacher at Vikramasila in the reign of King Ramapala (A. D. 1084-1130). He was proficient in the five sciences and while at Vikramasila used to write sastras in the first two watches of the day and explain the principles of Dharma in the third. In his day the University had three thousand monks and was under the protection of King Subhasri of Eastern India. We learn on the authority of Tibetan writers, that a Turuska war took place at this time in which he played an important part and was ultimately able to drive out the Turuskas. 2350 He was a great Tantric scholar and besides writing two works on Sütra group he composed in Sanskrit twenty-seven and translated into Tibetan seven books on Tantra. Mahapandita Tathagata Raksita who came of a Kaystha family of Orissa is mentioned by Taranath as a Tantracarya of Vikramaśila. 2851 He composed in Sanskrit nine books, mostly on Tantra, seven of which he himself translated into Tibetan. He also translated into Tibetan four works written by others. Mahapandita Ratnakirti was also associated with the University of Vikramaśilā<sup>2352</sup> and it was from him as from Jetäri that Ratnäkara Santi learnt the Sutra and the Tantra. He was the author of four Buddhist books in Sanskrit, three of which he himself rendered into Tibetan. Pandita Manjusri, a great Tibetan and Sanskrit scholar, translated three Sanskrit books into Tibetan and happily the scene of his work on these translations was the University of Dharmakirti who was helped by Abhayakara-gupta in Vikramasīlā. translating 'Kāla-cakrāvatāra-nāmā' was associated with Vikramaśilā where he translated into Tibetan the Sanskrit book 'Samaya-Pañcha' of Ācārya Padmasambhava.<sup>2853</sup> He was a native of Khams-pa which according to Mr. S. C. Das is the eastern part of Tibet. He is also described as a Lotsaba, that is, a Tibetan scholar versed in the Sanskrit language and he wrote about sixteen Sanskrit books. Mahāpandita Sākya Śrī Bhadra was a native of Kashmere and a famous logician. When he was at Vikramasila the vihara was invaded and destroyed along with

s. S. C. Das—"Contributions on the Religion and History of Tibet" in J. A. S. B., 1882, p. 18.

<sup>3881</sup> Schiefner's Tārānāth, p. 259.

<sup>2852</sup> Catalogue du Fond Tibetain, III. p. 391.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Ibid., II. pp. 75-76,

Odantapura by a Turuska king (Bakhtyar Khilji). He then fled to the monastic University of Jagaddala whence he visited Tibet. \$354 He wrote seven books in Sanskrit and translated two others into Tibetan. Relying on Tibetan sources Mr. S. C. Das also refers to two other famous teachers associated with Vikramasila. One was Vidya Kokila who was a lineal disciple of acarya Chandrakirti and teacher of Atisa. The other was the famous Naropanta "who for his scholarship in the sacred literature has no equal among the Buddhists. He too was Atisa's tutor." Taranath also mentions the name of Naropa who was the dwara-pandita of the northern gate of Vikramasila in the reign of King Canaka (A. D. 955-983). When Nag-tcho was staying at Vikramasila as the messenger of Prince Chan Chub to take Atisa to Tibet Naropanta came on a visit to Vikramasila and after handing over the ministry of the religion of Buddha to Atisa, proceeded towards the south where he died soon afterwards. Some relics of his remains were brought to Tibet by Atisa and they are said still to exist, being preserved in the sacred stupa of Hor at Nethan. 2355 Taranath mentions Acarya Kamala Raksita who was at the head of the Vikramasila University and was able to repel a Turuska attack on the University. 2556 According to Dr. S. C. Vidyabhūşana<sup>2357</sup> Kamala Kuleśa. Raksita, Subhakara-gupta and Sunayakaśri also belonged to this University.

This University was visited by eminent Tibetan scholars like Rinchhen Zan-po and Legs-pahi Serab who came under the instruction of the Tibetan King "Lha Lama Yes'e hod" to invite to Tibet a saintly Buddhist scholar for the reformation of Buddhism in Tibet. It was soon visited by another Tibetan scholar Gya-tson Senga who came to Vikramaśila under the instructions of the same king to take Atisa to Tibet. Another Tibetan scholar Nag-tcho visited

<sup>2854</sup> Schiefner's Taranath, p. 255.

<sup>8888</sup> S. C. Das-Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow (1893), p. 60, 63-64

Geschichte des Buddhismus Von Schiefner, pp. 266, 261. Quoted in S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's Med. Logic, pp. 151-52 footnote No. 2.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Vidyabhuşana—Med. Logio p. 151.

\*\*\* S. C. Das—Indian Pandits in the land of Snew, p. 52.

'ikramasila as a messenger of Prince Chan Chub to invite Atisa to Nag-tcho met on his way a party of a Nepalese prince onsisting of about ten men who were proceeding to Vikramaśila. 2360 lag-tcho remained here for full three years and applied himself with saiduity in studying the sacred books and reading Sanskrit Buddhist terature under Sthavira Ratnakara. While at Vikramašīlā he ranslated six books into Tibetan two of which he did with Atisa's "The pundits of Vikramasīla were teaching a certain luddhist work which in Tibet was very little appreciated. There was very good commentary upon it called Suddha Vindu (drops of nectar). lag-tcho translated it into Tibetan". 2362 He attended a grand ongregation of eight thousand monks of all classes living 'ikramasīlā, a graphic description of which as preserved by him is given y Mr. S. C. Das in his "Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow." \$368

According to the Muhammadan historian Minhaz in the eightieth egnal year of Laksmanasena (i. e., Laksmanasena era 1119 A. D.+80=199 A. D.) Magadha was invaded by Bakhtyar who especially ttacked the Buddhist monasteries including Vikramaśilā. Tāranāth lso refers to the destruction of Vikramaśilā along with other nonasteries by the Turuṣka king. According to Tāranāth<sup>2864</sup> the king f Magadha had fortified Vikramaśilā and stationed some soldiers here so that it easily attracted the attention of the Moslem conqueror. In Moslem conqueror, as Dr. P. C. Roy, 365 relying on manuscripts, observes: The monasteries had degenerated into hotbeds of corruption, so much o that the Mussalman conquerors felt little compunction in putting he inmates thereof to the sword."

#### ODANTAPURI MONASTERY.

Another monastic University was that of Odantapuri 3866 which was stablished by Gopāla, the first king of the Pāla dynasty about the middle of

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>2361</sup> Ibid., p. 66.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Ibid., p. 64.

<sup>2568</sup> pp. 59-60.

assa Geschichte des Buddhismus Von Schiefner, pp. 259-61.

<sup>2565</sup> History of Hindu Chemistry, Vol. I. p. LXIX.

sees or Odentepure.

the eighth century A. D.2567 But according to the writer of "Universities in Ancient India \* 368 it was established long before the Pala dynasty came to power in Magadha. It was situated near Pataliputra but it is difficult to identify its exact site. This vihara served as a model for the great monastery of Sam-ve in Tibet which was built by its king with the assistance of Santa Raksita. 2869 It was famous as a stronghold of of Tantric Buddhism. Ratnakara Santi, one of the dwara-panditas of Vikramasīlā was ordained in the Sarvāstivāda school of Odantipura. 2370 Even Atisa, the High-priest of Vikramasīlā took the sacred vow at his nineteenth year from Sila Raksita, the Mahasanghika acharya of Odantapura University. 2871 When Abhayakara-gupta was at the head of the Buddhist hierarchy of Magadha (that is, towards the end of the cleventh and the beginning of the twelvth Century A. D.) there were no less than one thousand Buddhist monks at Odantapuri as compared with three thousand monks at Vikramasila and one thousand at Mahabodhi. 2372 A monk of Odantapuri vihāra, Prabhākara 2878 by name was the translator of "Samudrka-vyanjanu-varnana" into Tibetan. This vihara contained a splendid library which was destroyed by Bakhtyar and his troops. According to Taranath, 2374 the King of Magadha fortified the monastery and stationed some troops with whom the monks joined in repulsing the invaders. The University was totally destroyed in 1199 A. D., for, the colophon of Panchakara in the library of the University of Cambridge refers to the destruction of Odantapura in the thirty-eighth regnal year of Govindapaladeva who ascended the throne in 1161 A. D. Taranath observes: "The Turuşka king........ conquered the whole of Magadha, killed many clerics at Odantapuri, destroyed this as well as Vikramasila and on the spot of the old vihara

<sup>9367</sup> V. A. Smith-Early History of India, p. 398.

<sup>2308</sup> J. B. T. R. S., Vol. VII. Part IV. (1906) p. 21.

S. C. Das in J. A. S. B., 1881, Part I. p. 226; Waddell's Lamaism p. 28; Cosma de Koros-Tibetan Grammar, p 183.

save S. C. Vidyabhusana-Med. Logic, p. 140.

<sup>2371</sup> S. C. Das-Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow, p. 51.

asts P. N. Bose-Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities, pp. 84, 157-58.

<sup>2574</sup> Schiefner's Taranath, pp. 259-61.

#### THE JAGADDALA VIHARA.

The Rāmacharita speaks of the Jāgaddala Mahāvihāra built by king Rāmapāla<sup>2576</sup> in the city of Rāmābatī founded by him on the banks of the Ganges and the Karatoyā in the country of Varendra.<sup>2377</sup> Being thus founded in the beginning of the twelvth century this University lasted only for a century till the Muhammadan invasion of Bengal by Bukhtyar in 1203 swept it away. After the destruction of the monastery of Vikramašīlā, Šakya S'rī Bhadra came to this vihāra whence he visited Tibet.<sup>2378</sup>

One of the great scholars of this University was Māhapandita Bibhūtichandra. He was the author of six books in Sanskrit which he himself translated into Tibetan. He also translated into Tibetan about eighteen Sanskrit books written by others. He translated two of these books at Din-Ri, a plateau of Southern Tibet which shows that he visited that country. Acarya Dānašīla otherwise known as Dānašrīla also belonged to this University. He was born in Kashmere when Mahīpāla was reigning in Bengal. He composed four books in Sanskrit, one of which

<sup>2375</sup> Tabakāt-i-Nāṣari (Eng. Trans., by Major H. G. Raverty), 1881, Vol. I. p. 552.

Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III. p. 47; Rāmacharita—M. M. Sāstrī, Ch. III. 5, 7.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Ibid., p. 14. \*\*\* Schiefner's Täränäth, p. 255.

Cordier—Catalogue du Fond Tibetain, pp. 19, 20; Kern—Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 184.

was on Logic and translated fifty-four books into Tibetan without aid and four more with the help of Jinamitra. The place where he translated "Kāka caritra" was the vihāra of Yar-kluns-than-poche in Central Tibet, which shows that he visited Tibet. Another scholar Pandita Subhākara, otherwise known as Sumbhakara was the spiritual guide of Sākya Srī probably Sākya Srī Bhadra, the abbot of Vikramašīlā and while at Jāgaddala wrote in Sanskrit "Siddhāika-vīra-tantrā-tīkā" 2380 Another scholar belonging to this vihāra was Mahāpandita Mokṣākara-gupta, the author of a famous book on Logic named "Tarka-bhāṣā".

#### STRYA MONASTERY.

Another great monastery was that of Sīkya. It was built after the model of Odantapura which it followed in the details of monastic discipline and education. It became the seat of the first grand hierarchy of Tibet about 1202 A. D.

#### S'RIDHANYA KATAKA.

Similary there was S'rīdhanya Kataka which was situated on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā in Vidarva (modern Amraoti). It attained the height of its fame as a seat of Brahminical and Buddhist learning during the time of siddha Nāgārjuna. The great monastic University of Du-pong near Lhasa with its six colleges was built after its model.

The Muhammadan conquest, however, led to the destruction of these monasteries in N. India. Kern<sup>2381</sup> observes: "The learned Sakyaśri went to Orissa and afterwards to Tibet; Ratna Rakṣita to Nepal; Buddhamitra and others sought refuge in Southern India while Sangamaśri-jñāna and several of his followers betook themselves to Burma, Camboja etc.........Many emigrants from Magadha rejoined their brethren in the south and founded colleges on a modest scale in Vijayanagara, Kalinga and Konkan. The comparatively satisfactory condition of Buddhism in the Deccan about this time is attested by the

<sup>2000</sup> Catalogue du Fond Tibetain, II. p. 293.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Kern-Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 134.

rich donations to the monastery at Dambal". Thus the monks of the monasteries of Vikramasilā and Odantapura on their dispersion carried with them their learning and arts in the same manner as the Byzantine Greeks on their expulsion from Constantinople bore with them their intellectual treasures to the Italian cities. In the kingdoms of the Deccan, 2532 in Nepal and in Tibet, the Buddhist scholars found hospitable asylums just as the Greek philosophers did in the Florentine Republic under the Medicii.

## § 14. SEATS OF LEARNING.

## (i) BENARES.

Benares is one of the oldest seats of learning in India. In the Tittira Jātaka<sup>2583</sup> we read that "a world-renowned professor of Benares gave instruction in science to five hundred young Brahmins" and afterwards repaired to a forest-home on the slopes of the Himalayas to carry on his educational work in that calm sylvan retreat. In the Kesiya Jataka 1384 it is stated that in the reign of king Brahmadatta of Benares Bodhisattva being born in a Brahmin family became a renowned teacher at Benares and used to teach the three Vedas and the eighteen vijjas to Brahmin boys and kshatriva princes. In the Jataka period Benares was, however, largely the creation of the ex-students of Taxila. We find established there schools for the teaching of spells and magic charms by students trained in Taxila. For the study of the ordinary subjects there were of course already many schools, 2885 Benares, however, was not without its own alumni as educationists. There are several references to teachers of world-wide fame with the usual number of 500 pupils to teach. The son of a Brahmin magnate is educated in Benares. There were again certain subjects in the teaching of which Benares seems to have specialised.

of literary activity generally. In Hindusthan it had been substantially arrested by the inroads and the ravages of the Muhammadans "—Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 283.

<sup>9868</sup> Jātaka III. 537.

<sup>2884</sup> Jataka I. p. 463,

<sup>2006</sup> Jātaka Nos. 130, 185 etc.; Jātaka II. 99; I. 464.

There is a reference, for instance, to a school of music presided ever by an expert who was the chief of his kind in all India. \*\*\*\* Again it was at Benares that Panini wrote his famous grammar, that Kapila evolved his Samkhya philosophy, that Yaska wrote his Nirukta and Gautama wrote his Nylya-sastra. 2887 Sankaracharya is said to have Endied at Benares "the accepted touch-stone of all new doctrines from the ancient days even from the days of Buddha. There in Benares, Sankara published his new doctrine of Vedanta and convinced the pundits of Benares of its truth ".2388 Al Beruni2889 says: "The most generally known alphabet is called Siddhamatrka.....the people of Kashmere use it. But it is also used in Vārānasī. This town and Kashmere are the high schools of Hindu sciences". According to Al Beruni, 2390 owing to the plundering exploits of Mahmud "Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us and have fled to places where our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmere, Benares and other places". In the days of Al Beruni<sup>2391</sup> astronomy was specially cultivated at Benares where Vijayanandin composed his astronomical handbook entitled Karna-tilaka. It appears from the Ain-i-Akbari 2592 that Benares continued to be a flourishing seat of Hindu learning even in the sixteenth century.

# (ii) UJJAIN.

<sup>2006</sup> Jātaka I. 239; III. 18 and 233; IV. 237; Jātaka No. 243.

<sup>2887</sup> Nagendra Näth Som-Bäräpasī (in Bengali), p. 21.

<sup>2300</sup> C. V. Vaidya—Mediseval Hindu India, Vol. II. p. 214.

<sup>2800</sup> Sachau's Eng. Trans., Vol. I. p. 173. 2500 Ibid., I. 22.

<sup>2841</sup> Ibid., I. p. 156. 2842 Gladwin's Eng. Trans., p. 560.

<sup>2823</sup> Kadambari-C. M. Ridding's Eng. Trans., p. 212.

Pasupatacharya. Al Beruni<sup>2504</sup> relates the story of the alchemist Vyadi who was a veritable martyr to the science of alchemy. Ujjain was however famous for the study of astronomy and it became the meridian from which the Hindus counted the longitude of other places.<sup>2305</sup>

## (iii) KANAUJ.

From the reign of Yasovarman (675-710 A. D.) Kanauj became specially famous for its study of Pūrva Mīmāṃsā or the philosophy of Vedic ritual. Yasobarman was the patron of Bhababhūti whose guru was the great apostle of Pūrva Mīmāṃsā, Kumārila Bhatta, as is evidenced by a colophon of Bhababhūti's drama Mālatīmādhava. This together with the story that five Brahmins were sent from Kanauj to Bengal to revive orthodox Hindu customs there shows that Kanauj was a centre of Brahminical learning.

## (iv) TANJORE.

Tanjore was famous for the cultivation of Natyaśastra and the sister arts of music and dancing. Rajaraja Chola (985-1014 A. D.) built music-halls for this purpose and invited and settled in Tanjore female dancers as also singers, pipers and drummers. Colleges were also built and learned teachers were appointed who taught literature and sastras to students. 2396

## (v) KALYāņa.

Kalyāņa was an ancient seat of learning, specially famous for its study of Law and Astronomy. At Kālyaņa Vijnāneśwara composed the famous commentary on the Yājnābālkya Smṛti, called Mitākṣarā which is recognised even to this day as the leading authority on Hindu Law all over India except Bengal. King Someśwara III (1126-1138 A. D.) himself wrote the Mānosollāsa a compendium of many sciences and made a solid contribution to the science of Astronomy by giving the Dhubānkas (constants to be added).

<sup>2804</sup> Sachan's Eng. Trans., Vol. I. p. 189. 2805 Ibid., I. pp. 304, 311.

<sup>2800</sup> Aiyar's Historical Sketch of the Ancient Deccan, p. 251.

## (vi) Kāñcnî.

kāńchipuram was another great centre of learning and Hiuen Tsang had conversation with monks from Ceylon on Yoga philosophy here. Dharmapāla of Kāńchi defeated a hundred Hīnayāna sūtrakāras in a discussion lasting for seven days. The Jaina Rājāvalikathā mentions Sāmantabhadra as having gone to Kāńchipuram a number of times and a Mysore inscription bears this out. 2897 South of it there was "a large monastery which was a rendezvous of the most eminent men of the country".

# (vii) PAITHAN.

Under the Satabahanas Paithan became one of the chief seats of learning in India. Its pre-eminence remained so far recognised that even during Muhammadan and Maharatta times complicated cases were settled at Paithan under the Panchayets of its learned men. That Paithan was famous for the cultivation of sciences is evident from Kathāsaritsāgara<sup>2598</sup> where we are told of one Devadatta by name who went to an old preceptor named Mantraswāmin in Pratisthāna and acquired a perfect knowledge of the sciences.

Besides these, there were in Northern India Peshwar, Mathura<sup>2399</sup> and Sārnātha famous for their schools of sculpture, Multan famous for its study of Astronomy and Mithilā and Navadwīpa for their schools of Logic. In Southern India Karavir, Giri and Vijayanagara were also famous seats of learning.

S. V. Venkateśwara in his Indian Culture Through the Ages, Vol. I.

<sup>2308</sup> Penzer, Vol. I. p. 79.

Buddhist statues are made of Sikri sandstone from which it would appear that
Mathura must have been a great manufactory for the supply Buddhist
sculptures in Northern India."

#### CHAPTER XII.

#### AGENCIES OF EDUCATION.

# §1. CARAKAS OR WANDERING STUDENTS.

Instruction was derived not merely from the regular teachers settled in the various seats of learning where they admitted their pupils but Such for instance were the Carakas or also from other sources. According to Sankara they were called Carakas wandering students. because they were observing (car) a vow for the sake of learning. The word occurs in one of the inscriptions of Usavadāta at Nasik-Caraka parsabhyah—where there is a reference to Brahminical schools at four places named in the record. 4400 The Brhadaranyaka Upanisad 401 refers to a band of wandering students travelling as far north as the land of The Kathasaritsagara 402 also refers to a brahmana student Saktideva by name who "was roaming through the earth in quest of knowledge". Though not normally competent as teachers, these travelling students are yet regarded as posssible sources of popular enlightenment by the S'atapatha Brahmana. 9408

The discussions in which these wandering students engaged themselves were not always due to accidental<sup>2404</sup> meetings as between Yājñabālkya and Janaka in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa but were sometimes deliberately challenged in a foreign region by the visiting scholars who would even throw down a prize for victory. In the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>2405</sup> Uddālaka Aruṇi, a Kuru-pānchāl Brahmin, goes north where he offers a gold coin as prize, "for the sake of calling out the timid to a disputation". Seized with fear the Brahmins of the northern country challenged him to a disputation on religious matters with Svaidāyana i. e., S'aunaka as their champion. In the end Uddālaka finds himself unable to answer all the questions put to him by S'aunaka, so he "gave

<sup>400</sup> Ind. Ant., 1888, p. 80.

<sup>9400</sup> Penser's edition, Vol. II. p. 174,

<sup>8494</sup> XI. 6, 2,

<sup>2601</sup> III, 3. 1. 7. 1.

<sup>2408</sup> IV. 2. 4.

<sup>2408</sup> XI. 4, 1L

him the gold coin". Thus education besides that imparted by the schools, was largely spread and promoted in its higher stages by learned travelling scholars of different provinces who would seek such opportunities of establishing their philosophical positions or scientific theories and thereby their intellectual status and eminence in the realm of letters.<sup>2406</sup>

# §2. ASCETIC TEACHERS.

Another factor of importance in the educational life of India in ancient times as to some extent even to-day was the influence of wandering monks and Sannyasins. Hiven Tsang was impreseed by their wide learning and spirit of self-sacrifice "Though their family be in affluent circumstances, such men make up their minds to be like vagrants and wander here and there to get their subsistence. Though they are not moved by honour or reproach, their fame is far spread. Even kings treated them with great respect. They were greatly versed in antiquity and they devoted their time to the cultivation of knowledge".2407 Thus could India show in abundance men who renounced the riches and the comforts of home, the many pleasures of social life and even the love of fame ('that last infirmity of noble minds') as so many impediments to the quest of Truth. Attainting truth they were anxious to impart it to their As Hiven Tsang 2408 says: "Forgetting fatigue, "expatiate in the arts and sciences"; seeking for wisdom while "relying on perfect virtue" they "count not 1000 li2409 a long journey". With the revival of Hinduism under S'ankara, the Sannyasins living in the convents established by him, called S'añkarāchāryas were required to tour from village to village, within their own jurisdiction, settling disputes relating to caste, conduct or creed, solving the doubts and difficulties of local priests, advising the people to follow their Dharms and at times establishing institutions for the education of the young or

For an account of the Wanderjahre of young brahmana students See Dr. Buhler's Introduction to Bikramankacharita.

Beal-Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II. p. 79; Watters-Tuan Chwang, Vol. I. p. 160.

<sup>\$408</sup> Watters-Yuan Chwang, Vol. I. p. 161.

<sup>2400 1</sup> li=4 miles.

the support of Sannyasins. Thus in these travelling bands of ascetic chers ancient India found the real educators of thought who did re to spread education and enlightenment in the country than any paid official agency. The people found their own teachers irrespective of state.

# §3. Brahmabāda or discussions near a sacrifice.

Another great educational influence in the country was the occasional acourse of learned men gathered together at the courts and palaces of ags by the sessions of sacrifices they used to celebrate with due pomp I liberality. It was customary in those days to arrange in connection the these sacrifices some interesting and instructive functions like recitation of sacred books at some convenient hour of the day, ich could be attended by the public at large. It was during rifices that S'ukadeva recited Bhāgabat to Janamejaya, that Sūta told Purāṇas to ṛṣis. It was at the snake-sacrifice of Janamejaya that isampāyana recited the Mahābhārata. Late S'aunaka in Naimiṣāraṇya ṛraśrabā recited the Purāṇas. Late Thus the celebration of religious rifices was the principal agency for the promulgation and popularisation original literary works of national interest and importance.

The Upanisads also emphasise the other feature of these learned therings viz., that they provided the arena where scholars seeking to ablish their intellectual position entered the list in tournaments of bate. These discussions were called Brahmabāda and references to them are often met with in the S'atapatha Brahmana, Brhadāranyaka i Chhandogya Upanisads. It was in such a sacrifice that Usasti akrāyana challenged the priests to explain the nature of their ities and on their silence did so himself. This feature is also ticed in the Mahābhārata<sup>2413</sup> where it is stated how learned ahmins were flocking to the sacrifice of Janaka "for the purpose of

<sup>2429</sup> Mahabharata, Adiparba, Anukramanikadhyaya. Compare Adiparba, 59th adhyaya,

<sup>8411</sup> Ibid., Adiparba, 4th adhyāya, Paulomaparbādhyāya.

<sup>1418</sup> Chandogya Up , I. 10, 11, 1413 III. 132-84.

him the gold coin". Thus education besides that imparted by the schools, was largely spread and promoted in its higher stages by learned travelling scholars of different provinces who would seek such opportunities of establishing their philosophical positions or scientific theories and thereby their intellectual status and eminence in the realm of letters.<sup>2406</sup>

# §2. ASCETIC TEACHERS.

Another factor of importance in the educational life of India in ancient times as to some extent even to-day was the influence of wandering monks and Sannyasins. Hiven Tsang was impressed by their wide learning and spirit of self-sacrifice "Though their family be in affluent circumstances, such men make up their minds to be like vagrants and wander here and there to get their subsistence. Though they are not moved by honour or reproach, their fame is far spread. Even kings treated them with great respect. They were greatly versed in antiquity and they devoted their time to the cultivation of knowledge".2407 Thus could India show in abundance men who renounced the riches and the comforts of home, the many pleasures of social life and even the love of fame ('that last infirmity of noble minds') as so many impediments to the quest of Truth. Attainting truth they were anxious to impart it to their As Hiuen Tsang 2408 says: "Forgetting fatigue, "expatiate in the arts and sciences"; seeking for wisdom while "relying on perfect virtue" they "count not 1000 li2409 a long journey". With the revival of Hinduism under S'ankara, the Sannyasins living in the convents established by him, called S'añkarachāryas were required to tour from village to village, within their own jurisdiction, settling disputes relating to caste, conduct or creed, solving the doubts and difficulties of local priests, advising the people to follow their Dharma and at times establishing institutions for the education of the young or

For an account of the Wanderjahre of young brahmana students See Dr. Buhler's Introduction to Bikramankacharita.

Beal-Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II. p. 79; Watters-Tuan Chwang, Vol. I. p. 160.

<sup>9404</sup> Watters-Yuan Chwang, Vol. I. p. 161.

<sup>2409 1</sup> K=4 miles.

for the support of Sannyssins. Thus in these travelling bands of ascetic teachers ancient India found the real educators of thought who did more to spread education and enlightenment in the country than any paid or official agency. The people found their own teachers irrespective of the state.

# §3. Brahmabāda or discussions near a sacrifice.

Another great educational influence in the country was the occasional concourse of learned men gathered together at the courts and palaces of kings by the sessions of sacrifices they used to celebrate with due pomp and liberality. It was customary in those days to arrange in connection with these sacrifices some interesting and instructive functions like the recitation of sacred books at some convenient hour of the day, which could be attended by the public at large. It was during sacrifices that S'ukadeva recited Bhāgabat to Janamejaya, that Sūta told the Purāṇas to ṛṣis. It was at the snake-sacrifice of Janamejaya that Vaisampāyana recited the Mahābhārata. Lation Similarly, at a sacrifice lasting for twelve years performed by kulapati S'aunaka in Naimiṣāranya Ugraśrabā recited the Purāṇas. Lation Thus the celebration of religious sacrifices was the principal agency for the promulgation and popularisation of original literary works of national interest and importance.

The Upanisads also emphasise the other feature of these learned gatherings viz., that they provided the arena where scholars seeking to establish their intellectual position entered the list in tournaments of debate. These discussions were called Brahmabāda and references to to them are often met with in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, Brhadāraṇyaka and Chhāndogya Upaniṣads. It was in such a sacrifice that Uśaṣti Chakrāyaṇa challenged the priests to explain the nature of their deities and on their silence did so himself. This feature is also noticed in the Mahābhārata 413 where it is stated how learned Brahmins were flocking to the sacrifice of Janaka "for the purpose of

<sup>\*410</sup> Mahabharata, Adiparba, Anukramanikadhyaya. Compare Adiparba, 59th adhyaya,

<sup>3411</sup> Ibid., Adiparba, 4th adhyāya, Paulomaparbādhyāya.

<sup>3618</sup> Chandogya Up, I. 10, 11. 2418 III. 132-34

listening to controversies "and the recitation of the Vedas. Thither came Astabakra but the entrance to the assembly was barred by the gate-keeper who under orders from the learned chief, Vandi, was to admit only old and learned Brahmins. Astabakra had thus first to convince the gate-keeper of his eligibility for membership of that learned assembly and addressed him as follows: "O gate-keeper, you will to-day see me engaged in a controversial fight with all the learned men and get the better of Vandi himself in argument." In the end Astabakra came out victorious, with his supremacy acknowledged by the whole assembly.

These discussions of learned men "sitting near" the sacrificial fire were later on written down and called Upanisads. Such debates at times resulted in philosophical investigations and the pompous hollowness of the ritual appealed to some thoughtful minds. They were then put down in black and white in course of time for the guidance of future generations and the writings came to be known as Aranyakas or discussions near Arani (wooden pieces by the friction of which sacrificial fire was produced) and later on probably it became traditional to read them in sylvan solitude and not in the presence of the common people who could appreciate the external form of anything better than the underlying truth. 2414

Such discussions were the most economical and effective source of popular enlightenment. The kings spent little on them directly and yet encouraged a devoted class of teachers whose duty it was to lead a simple life, to cultivate high thinking, to keep learning (religious though it was) alive and to help other members of the society to follow suit. The religious commandments had a great hold on the individual mind and such progress was achieved as would have been impossible by the enforcement of secular laws. Superstition and mysticism might have been great defects in the system as propagated by the Brahmanas; but the Upanisads marked a definite improvement upon them. In a number of places, the nature of several deities was

<sup>\$414</sup> Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. XXII. p. 71.

challenged by bold seekers after the truth like Usaşti Chakrayana and pure rational philosophy was taught by them instead of dogmatic explanation.

# § 4. RECITATION OF SASTRAS SPECIALLY AT A SRADDHA.

Another agency of popular enlightenment was the recitation of sastras on the occasion of śrāddha ceremonies. Manu<sup>2415</sup> says: "During the śrāddha repast Vedas, Purānas, Itihāsas and Khilas should be recited to brāhmana guests when they would be eating." Viṣnu Saṃhita<sup>2416</sup> says: "This code should be studied, remembered and recited to others. Persons, deserving good, shall hear it narrated during the celebrations of a śrāddha ceremony." In the Mahābhārata<sup>2417</sup> we are told that if a man arranges for the recitation of the Mahābhārata to the Brahmins at a śrāddha, then his dead ancestors get eternal fool and drink. If he arranges for the recitation of the Mahābhārata on Parva days, then his sins are removed and he is assured of his residence in Brahmaloka for ever."

Aśwaghoṣa mentions a simple headman of a village listening to the recital of the Epics delivered by the Brahmins. 2418 Bāṇa 2419 also refers to Kādambarī "giving her attention to the recitation of the Mahābhārata........... by Nārada's sweet-voiced daughter, with the accompaniment of flutes soft as the murmur of bees, played by a pair of kinnaras sitting behind her." In Harṣacharita 2420 we are told of the recitation of the Vāyu Purāṇa by the reader Sudriste before Bāṇa and his relatives. A copper-plate grant 2421 of a Pāla king has been found which makes the interesting statement that a village was granted as dakṣiṇā to a Brahmin for reading the whole of the Mahābhārata to his queen Chitramaṭikā.

## §5. Public Religious Tournaments.

Public religious tournaments were another agency of popular education. The Indo-Aryan mind always took delight in logically

<sup>9418</sup> Ch. III.; M. N. Dutt's Trans., p. 232. 2418 Ch. C. Sl. 3.

<sup>\*417</sup> Adiparba, 62nd adhyāya.

<sup>8418</sup> S. V. Venkateśwara—Indian Culture Through the Ages, Vol. I. p. 212.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Kadambari-C. M. Ridding's Eng. Trans., p. 162.

sase Eng. Trans., by Cowell and Thomas, p. 72.

<sup>3434</sup> J. R. A. S. B., XIX., Part I. p. 66.

discussing the various questions of religion and philosophy. Buddhism specially was fond of such discussions. The development of Nyaya philosophy which Buddhism to some extent made its own lent indeed a scholastic character to such discussions and there was no criterion of truth except the opponents's defeat in discussion. these discussions have an interest and a value of their own as reason was held supreme.2422 The discussion between the Buddhist patriarch Parsva and the Brahmin scholar Aśwaghosa took place as early as the first century B. C. Even before this, in the age of Asoka such discussions between scholars of different sects took place and a special edict enjoins upon them toleration, respect for the truth in each system and restraint of speech in controversy. 2428 The following dialogue 424 between Milinda and Nagasena is quoted to show what was thought to be the proper mode of carrying on discussions in the days of those notable persons:-

The King said: 'Reverond Sir, will You discuss with me again?'

- 'If Your Majesty will discuss as a scholar (pandita), will; but if you will discuss as a king, no.'
  - 'How is it then that scholars discuss?'
- 'When scholars talk a matter over with one another then there is a winding up, an unravelling; one or other is convicted of error; and he then acknowledges his mistake, distinctions are drawn, and contradistinctions; and yet thereby they are not angered. Thus do scholars, O king, discuss.'
  - 'And how do kings discuss?'
- 'When a king, Your Majesty, discusses a matter, and he advances a point, if any one differ from him on that point, he is apt to fine him, saying: "Inflict such and such a punishment on that fellow!" Thus, Your Majesty, do kings discuss.'
- 'Very well. It is as a scholar, not as a king, that I will discuss. Let Your Reverence, talk unreservedly, as you would with a brother, or a novice, or a lay disciple, or even with a servant. Be not afraid?'

<sup>2422</sup> C. V. Vaidya-Med. India, Vol. III. 2428 Rock Edict XII.

<sup>2424</sup> Rhys Davids—Questions of King Milinda in the S. B. E. Series, Vol. XXXV., p. 46.

In the time of Chandragupta Vikramaditya of Ujjain, a great disputation between the two exponents of Hinduism and Buddhism was held on the subject of sense perceptions. Monoratha, the champion of Buddhism was worsted in the discussion owing to the Brahminical bias of the king. But in the next reign, Vasubandhu, the favourite disciple of Manoratha won the victory for Buddhism and his guru. 2425 Hiuen Tsang refers to Buddhist monasteries as the constant scenes of such discussions, for the monks residing therein having no care for their maintenance had ample time for study and disputations besides performing their religious exercises. The Buddhists themselves were divided into eighteen sects and had as many disputations among themselves as with outsiders. Hiven Tsang himself took part in such a debate arranged by the king of Kapisa where he defeated after a five days' discussion all his opponents. 2426 He also discussed the the difficult parts of the doctrine in an open conference at the Jayendra convent 2427 He also describes the great assemblies of learned men which were convened at the time of the quinquennial alms-giving ceremonies which Harsa used to hold at Prayaga and at the last of which Hiuen Tsang himself Was the president. The usual procedure in such assemblies was that some one made a declaration of his doctrines and called upon all present to refute them. Sometimes a written declaration was posted at the gate of a monastery calling upon adversaries to tear it. Hiuen Tsang tells us of one such declaration posted by a Brahmin opponent to the door of the Nalanda monastery which nobody daring to tear up he himself tore and then entering upon a controversy with the Brahmin defeated him. 2428 learn from the Pattinappalai that men of learning and reputation put up flags, inviting combatants to challenge their scholarship. 2429 Again Gunavati, a follower of Buddhism defeated a Samkhya student named Mādhava in Magadha. In a seven days' discussion Dharmapāla of Kañchī silenced one hundred Hinayana monks in the Visoka monastery.

<sup>\$498</sup> Watters-Yuan Chwang p. 212.

<sup>2426</sup> Beal-Life of Hinen Tsang, pp. 56-57.

<sup>#487</sup> Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>2428</sup> Ibid., pp. 161-64.

<sup>2400</sup> S. V. Venkateswara-Indian Culture Through the Ages, Vol. I. p. 252.

References are found to the erection of five monasteries to commemorate the victories of five Buddhist scholars in Srughna over Jaina monks. Āryadeva,2480 an eminent disciple of Nāgārjuna visited the countries of Mahakosala, Srughna, Prayaga, Chola and Vaisali in all of which he won Dignaga<sup>2451</sup> made the great renown by defeating the Tirthikas. University buildings of Nalanda "resound with the exposition of the various points at issue" and defeated the Brahmin Sudurjjaya and many Tirtha dialecticians. He travelled through Orissa and Maharastra to the south, meeting Tirtha controversialists in discussion. For his success as a debator he was called "Bull in discussion". Dharmakirti 433 defeated in debates Kanadagupta and other followers of the Tirtha system and when this success enraged Kumzrila he defeated the latter with his hundred followers. He further withstood the Rahuvratin and others who lived within the range of the Vindhya mountains. In the century that followed Harsa's death we know that Sankara and Kumarila went to all the important seats of learning in order to propagate their own views after defeating their opponents. S'ilabhadra, a Brahmin prince of Magadha, conquered a South Indian scholar who had challenged the learning of his guru. I-Tsing<sup>2433</sup> also refers to such tournaments being held in his time. Says he: "To try the sharpness of their wit, they (eminent and accomplished scholars) proceed to the king's court to lay down before it the sharp weapon of their abilities......when they are present in the House of Debate, they raise their seat and seek to prove their wonderful cleverness. When they are refuting heretical doctrines, all their opponents become tongue-tied and acknowledge themselves undone. Then the sound of their fame makes the five mountains (of India) vibrate and their renown flows, as it were, over the four borders. They receive grants of land and are advanced to a high rank: their famous names are as a reward, written in white on their lofty gates". Kalhana in his Rajatarangini 484

Beal-Buddhist Records, Vol. I. Bk. IV. pp. 186-90; Bk. V. p. 231; Vol. II. Bk. X. pp. 210, 277; Bk. XII. p. 302; Bk. VIII. pp. 98-103.

<sup>3481</sup> S. C. Vidyābhūjapa—Med. Logic, p. 80.

<sup>2488</sup> Ibid., p. 104. 2488 Takakusu's Eng. Trans, p. 176ff.

<sup>8484</sup> L 178; Stein-The Chropicles of Kashmere, Vol. I. p. 89.

also refers to such tournaments between Buddhist monks and Brahmin scholars. Jaina scholars like Vijayapandita also scored eminent success in such public discussions held in various parts of Southern India. An inscription of Kubja Visnuvardhana refers to youths eloquent at discussions who are honoured by the chief people of the locality who had made them serve on the committee of five. Last Such discussions are also referred to in many Kadamba inscriptions. Last The fame that followed a successful disputant in these tournaments was so great that it must have been an inducement to all scholars to persevere in the subtle theories of metaphysics and religion. This must have kept the standard of intellectual attainment very high among the theologians and professors and it must have reacted powerfully on the educational atmosphere of the country.

## § 6. Functions connected with temple worship.

With the revival of Hinduism under Sankara some interesting functions came to be arranged in connection with temple worship to attract men, women and children. They took various forms and included music and pantomime, discourses by learned men on religious topics, and recitation of the sastras and the Purapas. From Bana's Kadambari we learn that queen Vilasabati heard the recitation of the Mahabharata in the temple of Mahākāla in Ujjain. An inscription at Sendalai 487 provides for the reading of the Mahabharata in the Sundareswara temple. Objects of show and curiosity, wild animals tamed and confined to a cage, monkeys trained to perform feats, the cobra made to dance to simple music, the elephant adorned with a howdah and caprisoned in oriental fashion, horses and bullocks drawing the hackneys and stately carriages to the music of tinkling cymbals on their necks—the combination of these had the effect on the spectator of a circus, a park and a museum placed within his reach free of cost. These agencies of popular education in the broadest sense radiated from the temple as the centre of such activities.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Panchavārim Samāpayya vāragosthisu vāgminaḥ—Ep. Ind., V. lines 27, 28.

<sup>\$484</sup> Fleet's Sanskrit and Kanarese Inscriptions, Nos. 37 etc.

<sup>2487</sup> Madras Ep. Rep., for 1899, para. 9.

## § 7. BUDDHIST AGENCIES OF EDUCATION.

Other agencies of education are referred to in the Vinaya-pitaka which provide ample opportunities for the converts to come into frequent contact with the Buddhist monks. They met at the monasteries on the 8th, 14th, and 15th day of every lunar fortnight at gatherings in which the monks delivered religious discourses and dispelled doubts on the points about which questions were put to them. Fa-hsien 2438 also says that "in Ceylon on the eighth, fourteenth and fifteenth of each month, at all points where the four roads meet, a lofty dais is arranged where ecclesiastics and lay men come together from all quarters to hear the faith expounded." Every morning they came into contact with the monks begging alms from door to door. Though long religious discourses were not suitable for such occasions they could have been easily utilised for imparting to them bits teachings intended to wear off their attachment to worldly matters and stimulate their eagerness to subject themselves rigidly to moral and religious discipline—the path to salvation. The afternoons were allowed by the rules of the monasteries to be utilised by the householders by coming there and having spiritual colightenment from the monks through conversation and religious discourses. householders were also permitted to invite to meals the monks singly or by batches and these occasions were similarly utilised for purposes of religious enlightenment.

In his 'sermons on stone' Aśoka gave to his subject-peoples of different communities, castes and creeds, certain common and cardinal ideals of thought and conduct which make him Humanity's first teacher of Universal Morality and Religion. These sermons meant to be read by the people at large were necessarily given at all important centres of his far-flung Empire and as they were meant to last for a long time, they were engraved on the most durable material, stone. In one of these sermons we are told that 'everywhere in his dominions his officers of all ranks—the Yuktas, the Rājukas and the Prāleśikas must go out on tours (anusamyāna), each every

<sup>9488</sup> Eng. Trans., by Giles, pp. 69-70.

the years, as well for their ordinary administrative business as for the special purpose of inculcating the Dhamma". 2439 This scheme of religious tours by his officers received a further development in the institution of a special class of officers the Dharma-mahāmātras, charged with the duty of attending to the moral and spiritual welfare of his subjects. 2440 He himself would have none of the tours of pleasure of his predecessors but would instead have only "religious tours"—holding "religious conferences with the people". 2441 He thus sought occasions of personal intercourse with his subjects to educate them to lead a better life and not his own sport or pleasure.

## § 8. ART AS AN AGENCY OF EDUCATION.

Where Nature failed to supply the facilities for the propagation of his Dhamma the aid of Art was invoked: huge monolithic columns were specially fashioned for the purpose and planted in places where a suitable rocky surface was not available to receive the Emperor's message in inscriptions. One of the Edicts itself informs us that "this message of the Emperor must be written on the rocks of stone".9449 King or wherever there are blocks or pillars Bhoja had Sanskrit aphorisms inscribed on slabs in the Sanskrit College at Dhar. 2448 Moreover, both in Hindu and Buddhist art we observe a tendency to the increasing use of symbolism for making teaching concrete to the masses. Fa-hien describes a rock-cut monastery in Southern India as having five stages. 2444 The lowest is made with elephant figures and has five hundred cells in it. The second is made with lion-shapes and has four hundred chambers. The third is made with horse-shapes and has three hundred chambers. The fourth is made with ox-shapes and has two hundred chambers. The fifth has dove-shapes and has a hundred chambers in it. The animals represented in architecture are in the same order. They seem to point to the philosophical teaching of the Vedanta that the gross body, the vital

BASS Rock Edict III.

<sup>2440</sup> Pillar Edict VII.

<sup>\*441</sup> Rock Edict VIII.

<sup>2442</sup> Minor Rock Edict I, (Rüpanäth Text),

<sup>2448</sup> Luard and Lele—The Paramiras of Dhar and Malwa.

<sup>3444</sup> Best-Buddhist Records of the Western World, I. pp. 68, 69.

airs (lion), the senses (horses), the mind (ox) and knowledge (dove) are in the relation of sheaths of the soul in due order. 2448 Again, as we enter a temple, the first thing that strikes us is the sculptural scenery on the walls and panelled ceiling, on the gateways and elsewhere. These pictures were designed to impart instruction in all the departments of learning which were directly or remotely connected with religion. The figures of the God-head as Creator, Preserver and Destroyer are easily recognised and explained. But there are numerous other figures of sages, heroes and devotees whose stories are familiar to the pilgrim in the legendary lore of the Puranas and the Epics, or even in the local legends and stories passing from the mouth to the ear. On the walls of some of the temples or on the stones paving the floor are found scenic representations of the Ramayana, as at and Tellicherry: or stories from the Mahabharata Kumbakonam depicted on the wooden ceiling as at Vaikam, Craganore etc. the temple at Chidambaram 9446 we have sculptures of the various forms of dancing mentioned in the Bharata Nātyaśīstra and referred to in the Kamasutras. In describing the painting on the walls of the dancing-hall of the king of Vijayanagara Paes2447 writes: "The designs of these panels show the positions at the ends of dances in such a way that on each panel there is a dancer in the proper position at the end of the dance; this is to teach the women, so that if they forget the position in which they have to remain when the dance is done, they may look at one of the panels where is the end of the dance. By that way they keep in mind what they have to do". In the basement of an old temple of Mahadeva in the fort of Dhaner in the Himalayan kingdom of Nurpur we similarly find very beautiful figures carved in stone, depicting scenes from the Puranas. The sculptures in the four gateways in the Sanchi Tope "form a perfect picture Bible of Buddhism as it existed in the first century A. D.". The same principle is reflected in Iconography. "The coins of the Kushanas show Siva, Ganesa and Gajalaksmī. The purpose of iconographic

<sup>2445</sup> S. V. Venkateśwara: Symbolism in Indian Art in Rūpam for April, 1927.

<sup>2444</sup> Madras Epigraphy Report for 1913 and Plate,

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Sewell—A Forgotten Empire, p. 289.

representation in this case was simply to show the regenerative power of God, of which the phallus was the most popular symbol. Generation of a newer order arises from the destruction of the older: hence the weapons in the hands of Siva. Ganesa is the god of learning. representing the mind surmounting obstacles (vighna) and developing additional power with every act of surmounting. The persistency of mental application is represented by the rat-flag, and the weight and deliberation of the matured mind by the elephant with the single tusk, as contrasted with the fleeting mind of the spiritually undeveloped, which we find represented as a horse or more often as a bull, in sculpture. It is along the lines of Tantric symbolism that we could discover the meaning of the coin-ornaments. We have the full-fledged story of Ganesa on a coin of Yajñaśrī Śatakarni. There is an elephant starting from a palm tree, facing a sword, with a goddess on each side. The palm-fruit with its three eyes represents Siva, the father Ganesa, the third eye being the eye of wisdom giving birth to spiritual fire. The goddesses at the sides are intellect, calm, cool and concentrated (Buddhi) and knowledge of the reality (Chit), of which the aspirant catches only a passing glimpse. These are confronted by the forces of evil, which are represented sword in hand. The Buddhist emblems of chaitya and tree, which are the generators of the wisdom of the Buddha, are more easily explained. The fire-worship of the Sassanians appears to be symbolised by the fire-altar on the Indo-Sassanian coins. Far the greatest gain to religion and philosophy was the conception and carving of Divinity as Nataraja dancing in life to the fiddling of fate; dressed in daintiness and delight illumined by flickering patches of memory that float upon the face of dark oblivion (apasmara), which is crushed under foot—the void whose name is Death. His spouse is joy unalloyed, free from the vesture of flowing, flapping drapery, clothed in the calmness and repose of her magnetic and mastering smile. The death of the old has no terrors: it is soothing and screne when it is learnt that it is the entrance to a new life. 448

Contrast with the modern view: 'Death is a state of protoplasmic immobility, of infinite functional inertia ... Latent life and not sleep is the image of death...... In life the sands of time are running out rapidly; in latent life the stream has been mysteriously arrested; in death the sand is all in the lower globe, never to leave is.' (Prof. D. F. Harris in Chambers' Journal for 1926).

The savour and scent of music sets young life leaping and laughing in glee. So goes the round of dying and deathless life, changing form to adjust itself to new conditions, for, survival after fitness for use is death. Corresponding to this conception of Siva as the master-dancer Nataraja, we have that of Viṣṇu as Rañganātha, the Lord of the Stage which is this phenomenal world. The sculptures at Deogarh and Mahamallapuram agree in painting the God Anantasayana as the Spiritual Omega of existence resting in the lap of hydra-headed Space on the ocean of Time (Ananta). He is also the Spiritual Alpha of a new order, as life is on the dawn of bloom like the lotus of Creation, from which emerges the Creator facing all the cardinal points, and the whole gamut of gods and the Forces of Nature are wakeful and watching how the Infinite manifests itself in the new order of creation ".2449

#### §9. THE STAGE AS AN AGENCY OF EDUCATION.

That the drama was an allegory and a vehicle of high class instruction is clear from one of the fragments of two Indian dramas (probably written by Aśwaghośa) discovered by Luders among the Turfan palm-leaf manuscripts. One of these two contains a scene in which the allegorical figures of wisdom, endurance and fame (Buddhi, Dhṛti and Kūrti) appear to glorify the Buddha. Though the piece is only fragmentary Dr. Niranjana Chakrabarty (in his India and Central Asia) thus gives us an idea of the nature of its contents:—

"So long as there is suffering, leading to rebirth" says the Buddha "there is nothing worth giving up, there would be nothing worth knowing whether it is constant and inconstant? He concludes his speech by saying: 'I take pleasure in him who has gained the highest peace, the highest immortality and the truth hard to obtain."

To this answers Dhṛti: True it is. By my might is surrounded that 'Light' which bears the name 'Man' and which has now become manifest (in the world).....

<sup>2449</sup> Professor S. V. Venkateswara—Indian Culture Through the Ages, Vol. I. pp. 228-25.

Dhṛti—Verily this is a couple. Where there is Buddhi there is place for Dhṛti, where Dhṛti is established, there Buddhi finds rooms to extend herself.

Kīrti-If such be the case, for you two.....

B.—It is so. Again one who has no Buddhi is always like one in sleep, one who is devoid of Dhrti is always like one got drunk...one who has no fame.....

K.-Where is now this Dharma, in the form of a man?

Dh.—To him shall we then take our resort. This great sage lives at the present moment in the park of the city of Magadha..... The speech of the trio ends with this and then enters Bhagabat himself surrounded by a halo of light. We also know from the Avadanaśataka<sup>2450</sup> which was already translated into Chinese in the 3rd Century A. D., and therefore must have been written at a much earlier time, that a Buddha Drama was by the actors of the Deccan in the presence of King Sobhavati, in which the director himself appeared as the Buddha and others as monks. Professor Sylvain Levi has also referred to another story found in the Kan-hgyur. An actor from the Deccan composed a drama containing the history of the Buddha upto his attainment of Bodhi and performed it before king Bimbisara. Harsa had his drama Nagananda (based on the story of Bodhisattva Jimutavahana surrendering himself in place of a Naga) set to music and performed by a band accompanied by dancing and acting. 2451 Harşa also had Chandradasa's

<sup>\$480</sup> Avadana No. 75.

Viswantara and Aswaghosa's Buddhacharita versified and set to dancing and music. All these show that already at a very early time Buddhism had given up its highly antagonistic attitude towards the theatre and even went so far as to make use of the stage as a means of propaganda for its teachings, nor had the Buddhists any hesitation to allow the Buddha appear on the stage impersonated by the ordinary actors.

In Bhababhūti's Uttara-Rāma-charita, Act IV, (Belvalkar's Eng. Trans., p. 60) we are told by Lava that a certain section of the Ramayana has been turned by Valmiki into a distinct type of work, full of sentiment and adopted to dramatic representation and sent to Bharata, the author of the aphorisms of Dramaturgy. Krsnamiéra's drama Prabodha-Chandrodaya (based on Vedanta philosophy, all the dramatis persona therein being allegorical representation of knowledge, devotion etc.) was acted about 1065 A. D. in the court of Kirtivarman, the Chandel King of Bundelkhund. A drama composed by Madana was acted in the Sanskrit College at Dhar on the occasion of a spring festival. 2458 The Parijatamanjuri of Vijayaśri was acted for the first time in the Sanskrit College in Dhar at the spring festival. 2484 Rajaraja I also instituted the representation on the stage of a drama called Rājarājeśwarī nātaka. 455 An inscription in the nineth year of Rājarāja I records a gift of land by the assembly of Sattanur to Kumaran Sikantan, a professional actor, for staging the seven acts of Aryakutten. For the maintenance of a nanavidha-natasala provision is made in an inscription of Rajakesari Kulottunga. The performance of the Agamargam at at Tiruvorriyur was attended by Rajaraja III.2456 According to Kautilya"2487 "If a man who has not co-operated in preparing for a public play or spectacle is found hearing or witnessing it hiding..... he shall be compelled to pay double the value of the aid due from him." That such shows were regularly held follow quite clearly from

<sup>#459</sup> Ibid., p. 165.

<sup>2458</sup> Luard and Lele—The Paramaras of

<sup>9484</sup> Edited by E. Hultssch, p. 3. (verse 5).

Dhar and Malwa.

<sup>\$448</sup> South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II. p. 306.

<sup>8486</sup> Annual Rep. Arch. Surv. of India, 1921-22, p. 117.

<sup>2487</sup> Arthefistra (R. Syamelistri's Eng. Trans.), p. 220,

innumerable references to professional actors in Sanskrit and Pali literature. 2458

## § 10. TRAVEL AS AN AGENCY OF EDUCATION.

Travel in foreign lands is also a fruitful source of education. Education in politics through taking part in administrative institutions even as audience is highly recommended in modern times. In this connection we may well quote the following lines from Sukranītisāra 2459 "One should without loth undertake travels, attend royal courts, study Zstras, see prostitutes and make friends with the learned. travel the numerous religious (customs), materials, animals, races of men, hills etc., come within the cognisance of man. The man who habitually attends courts and assemblies acquires knowledge as to the character of king and royal officers, the nature of justice and injustice, the men who falsely quarrel and the men who have real grounds of conflict and the procedure of cases and suits both customary and legal." In another passage, Sukracharya suggests the practice of undertaking distant tours. Says he: "In foreign lands, the following six are useful to men-wife without child, good conveyance. the bearer, the guard, the knowledge that can be of use in relieving other's miseries and an active servant." 2460 (It appears from the Kabyamimamsasasasi that ancient poets used to travel to foreign countries and islands and utilised their experience in those countries in their works)

Indeed it was quite usual for students to go far from their homes in search of higher education. Even after finishing their education at a distant University town like Taxila or Benares the students of those days undertook an expensive travel to give a practical turn to their theoretical

Milinda-Pañha, I. 191; Jataka II. 12; Jataka VI. 191; Saddharma-Puṇḍarika, Ch. III; Manu III. 155, 158; Manu IV. 214; Manu XII. 45; Baudhāyana I. 5. 24; Vašistha III. 3; Viṣṇu LI. 14.

<sup>2450</sup> Ch, III. lines 260-67.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Kiñchana mahākabayopi deśadwīpāntarakathāpuruṣādidarshanena tatratyām byabahītim nibadhnantisma—p. 12 (Gækwad Oriental Series).

Purbe hi bidwāṃsaḥ sahasraśākhaṃ saṃgam cha vedamabagāhya śāstrāṇi chābabuddhaya defantarāṇi dwīpāntarāṇi cha paribhramya.—p. 78 (G. O. S.).

studies at the colleges and qualify themselves for the life in the world by broadening the range of their experiences and deepening their insight into human affairs by a first hand study of the diverse manners and customs prevailing in the different parts of the country, as also to get inured to hardships. Thus a prince of Magadha after mastering all the arts at Taxila wandered through towns, villages and all the land to acquire all practical usages and understand country observances. 2462 We have mention of another student, Svetaketu, of Taxila who similarly "wandered, learning all practical arts." 468 There is mentioned another prince of Magadha who, being trained in all the sciences at Taxila "left that place with the intention of learning the practical uses of arts and local observances."2464 We read again of two sons of merchants and a tailor's son travelling together to learn the customs of the country folk after finishing their education at Taxila.2465 There is a reference to a student from Benares undertaking a travel after his education at Taxila. \*466 There is a similar reference to the Pandu brothers, who after receiving instruction at Taxila in arts "travelled about with the idea of mastering local customs."2467 In the Yoga Vāśistha<sup>2468</sup> we read that after his return from his guru, Rama went on his travels to the places of pilgrimage, the holy rivers and the hermitages of sages and the places of resort famous for their beauty or interest. It may be noted in this connection that those who planned the system of visiting places of pilgrimage selected spots, not near each other, but as far apart as the confines of India, and with a vast variety of social conditions and environments and located them on high eminences or fast by running brooks, whose blue water cut a stretch of green grass or brown gravel. Thus the eye could gaze with relief on the expanse below or the scenery around, suggesting thoughts widening the mental horizon and reaching outward to the

<sup>2462</sup> Jātaka I. 238.

<sup>2468</sup> Jataka III. 235.

<sup>2464</sup> Jataka V. 247.

<sup>2465</sup> Jataka IV. 38.

<sup>9466</sup> Jātaka IV. 200.

<sup>2467</sup> Jätaka V. 426.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3460</sup> Tīrtha puņyāšramašreņīh drastumutkanthitam manah and Tīrthāni devasadmāni vanyānyāyatanāne cha.—Vairāgya Prakaraņa,

infinite. The narrow conservatism and petty provincial prejudices attached to local and rural life, were confronted and corrected by commerce with the minds of men of piety and learning in the various regions of the Indian sub-continent.

## § 11. Clubs as an agency of education.

VIn Harsacharita<sup>2474</sup> we find a reference to a Logic society. Bana returning among his relatives from Harsa's court asks of them: "Is there the old logic society, regardless of all other occupations?". In his Kadambari Bana<sup>2475</sup> speaks of king Sudraka as "a founder of literary societies."

We know that King Pasenadi of Kośala had a picture-gallery (chittägara). A picture-gallery is also mentioned in Harsa's Ratnabali. From Kalidasa's Mālavikāgnimitra, Act I, we find that King Agnimitra of Vidisā had his hall of painting. 476 Act I. of Bhababhūti's

<sup>2460</sup> R. C. Mazumdar-Corporate Life in Ancient India, second edition, pp. 392-94.

<sup>\*470</sup> Kamasutra, Bk. I. Ch. IV. sl. 35.

<sup>2471</sup> Ibid., sl. 44.

<sup>3472</sup> Ibid., \$1. 49.

<sup>2478</sup> Ibid., \$1. 50.

Eng. Trans., by Cowell and Thomas, p. 71.

C. M. Ridding's Eng. Trans., p. 4.

Uttara-Rāma-charita<sup>2477</sup> also refers to a picture-gallery in the corridor of Rāma's palace where by royal order scenes from king Rāma's career were painted and shown to Sītā. The Karpūramañjurī of Rājaśekhara<sup>2478</sup> also refers to picture-galleries. We also find a reference to a library and librarians (Saraswatī-bhāṇḍārattār) in a Brahmin village called Vikrama-Pāṇḍya-chaturvedi-mangalam.<sup>2479</sup> But we do not know whether or how far they were used as vehicles of education.

# § 12. THE PROFESSIONAL STORY-TELLERS ETC.

The Sūta, the Māgadha, the legendary bard, the Paurāṇikas, 2480 the Bhāts 2481 of Bengal and Rājasthān, the Chāraṇas of Rājasthān 2482 and the professional story-tellers 2483 were also great sources of popular instruction. The caste of Pāṇans 2484 were also travelling minstrels who used to recite songs and lays of fighting and adventure before kings and nobles on festive and other occasions. Another agency of religious instruction was the Vairāgi 2485 of whom Abu Zaid collected an account as early as 916 A. D. They were travelling poets and reciters of old lays, the repositories of ancient folk-lore and tradition and the custodians of the ballad literature of India.

In these arrangements for the spread of knowledge among the masses the aim was to bring to the door of the humblest, though illiterate, the highest products of the human mind and heart, rather than to enable him to read, write or cipher for himself. The

Belvalkar's Eng. Trans., pp. 18-29. Sa78 Konow and Lanman's edition, p. 242.

<sup>2479</sup> Madras Ep. Rep. for 1913-14, No. 277 of 1913.

Vāyu Purāņa I. 31-32. Padma Purāņa V. 1. 27-28; Rāmāyaņa, Ayodhyākānda VI. 6; Gārgi Samhitā, Golakakānda XII. 36; Rājatarngini I. 166 (Stein, Vol. I. p. 29); Kautilya's Arthasāstra, R. Syāmasāstri's Eng. Trans., p. 476; also Ibid., p. 308.

<sup>9481</sup> Tod—Annals of Rajasthan. 2482 Ibid.

Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra, Bk. I. Ch. V. śl. 38; Ibid., Bk. VI. Ch. I. śls. 9 and 22. Kautilya's Arthaśāstra, R. Syāmaśāstri's Eng. Trans., pp. 277, 308 and 476; Mahābhārata. Birātaparba, 72nd adhyāya; Kathāsaritsāgara, Penser's edition, Vol. I. pp. 106, 120.

<sup>2404</sup> Professor S. V. Venkateśwara—Indian Culture Through the Ages, Vol. I. p. 282.

recitation of sacred texts and popular feasts and displays like ustava, vihāra, vimāna and agniskandha are as old as Asoka's inscriptions as agencies of culture; while in later times the system of symbolism, of folk-songs and dances, festive gatherings at temples, processions and popular lectures on temple platforms served to enlighten the the masses and women at the circumference of culture and turn their thoughts to the larger ideas of country, humanity and religion. Indeed culture, not literacy, was the highest aim of education in Ancient India. As the Nāladiyār puts it, 'the uncultured may read, but are uneducated; men of culture unlettered are men well-read.' It is true that there were similar institutions in ancient and mediæval times among peoples elsewhere, and that many of them partook likewise of a sacred character; but India stands almost alone in the emphasis on sruti, learning by the ear, even long after writing came into common use.

<sup>9406</sup> Ibid., p. 286.

#### CHAPTER XIII.

#### EDUCATION AND THE STATE IN ANCIENT INDIA.

From the Chandogya 2487 and the Brhadaranyaka 2488 Upanisads we learn that the kings used to help learned Brahmins for the cultivation of knowledge even in those early times. In the Mahabharata 489 Bhisma says to king Yudhisthir: "You should please those who are receiving education according to Vedic rules with gifts of dress etc., and by employing servants for the construction of houses for them." Yajñabalkya Samhita 400 says: "Having made suitable houses in his city the king should make the brahmanas settle there. And having granted them stipends for learning the three Vedas, he should say-' Follow your own vocation'". Such settlements of the learned in parts of towns were known as Brahmapuri. There were seven such at Belgame, one of which had thirty-eight brahmana familes cultivating linguistics and letters. 2491 Similarly the village of Niranthanin is styled brahmapuri in an inscription of Madhurantaka Potappi Chola Nallamsittarasa who restores a grant made by Vatsaraja. Salana Malhana Aps refers to king Jaysimha of Kashmere as building houses for men of learning which "raise their terraces to such a height that the seven rsis (the great Bear) come to see them as they are towering above their heads."

Kautilya says: 2494 "brāhmaņas shall be provided with forests for religious learning, such forests being rendered safe from the dangers from animate and inanimate objects and being named after the tribal names (gotra) of the brāhmaṇas resident therein". Again "those learned in the Vedas shall be granted Brahmadeya lands yielding sufficient produce and exempted from taxes and fines". 2495 Such a grant of land to

<sup>9487 5, 11, 5,</sup> 

<sup>248</sup> Anusasanaparba, 60th adhyaya.

<sup>\*401</sup> Ep. Carn. VII. (Sk.), 123.

Stein—The Chronicles of Kashmere, Vol. II. p. 185.

<sup>2406</sup> Ibid., p. 52.

<sup>2400 2. 1. 1 : 3. 1. 1.</sup> 

<sup>9490</sup> II. 188.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2409</sup> Madras Ep. Rep. for 1919, No. 570 (Cudappa).

<sup>2484</sup> Arthadistra (R. Symmedistri's Eng. Trans.), p. 55,

learned men was known as Bhattavitti referred to in many South Indian inscriptions. The Omgadu grant of Vijaya Skandavarman refers to such a bhattavitti while Rājarāja I (Chola) made such grants free from taxes along with Vaidyavittis (grants to ancestral physicians). Such grants were made not only for study but also for teaching as we learn from an inscription of Govinda IV (Rāstrakūta). An inscription of Aditya II (Chola) mentions to ma of laud sold as bhattavitti for expounding the Prabhākaram at Kumbakonam. A Nellore inscription clearly states that bhattabittimānyam was for work connected with culture. Sometimes the donee is described Mahāmahopādhyāya, as in the case of Godhala Deva who was the exponent of the popular systems of Mīmāmsā, Vyākaraṇa, Tarka and Vedānta in the reign of Vigrahapāla of Bengal.

Ændowments to learned brāhmaņas took the form of agrahāra or village settlement. The agrahāra of Sthānā Kuṇḍūr (Tālaguṇḍa) was settled with thirty-two Brahmin families who taught the people. 2501 The Chicakole Plates of Devendravarman record the grant of a village as an agrahāra to six brāhmaṇas for supporting ascetic teachers and their pupils. The Stone inscription of Kūppatūr also refers to an agrahāra where the Mahājanas are learning, teaching, sacrificing, etc. 2502 Queen Sūryamatī of Kashmere similarly bestowed at the glorious temple of Vijayeswara one hundred and eight agrahāras on learned Brahmins. 2503 Paramārdin Chandel of Bundelkhund gave many villages to numerous learned Brahmins. 2504 King Jayasiṃha of Kashmere made scholars and their descendants owners, as long as the planets, the Sun and the Moon should last, of villages possessing an abundance of unimpaired fields. 2505 Karṇa, king of Chedi founded the town of Karṇavatī and gave it to

<sup>24.96</sup> Ep. Ind., XV. 250; S. I. Ins., I. p. 91. 24.97 Ep. Ind., XIII. 327.

<sup>8498</sup> S. I. Ins., III. No. 200; and No. 223 of 1911.

<sup>9499</sup> Nellore No. 615. 9500 Ep. Ind., XV. 301.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Ep. Carn., VII. 178 (Sk).

Ep. Ind., III. pp. 130-34; Madras Ep. Rep. for 1913. No. 144 of Saks 1069; Ep. Carn., VIII. (SB), 249.

<sup>\$303</sup> Stein-The Chronicles of Kashmere, Vol. I. p. 282; compare Rajatar., VII, 181,

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Ep. Ind., IV. p. 170.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Stein—The Chronicles Kashmere, Vol. II. p. 185.

Brahmins learned in the Vedas. From Raghuvamsam 1807 we learn that King Kuśa gave over the whole of Kuśavati to Brahmins versed in the Vedas.

In some cases the king used to grant stipends and liberal allowances to students and learned men. In the Mahabharata 2508 Visma says to King Yudhisthir: "It is highly obligatory (on you) to grant stipends to Brahmins who are well-versed in the sastras and follow the Vedanta (Vedanta-nistha)." "All kinds of teachers and learned men" says Kautilya 2509 "shall have honorariums ranging from 500 to 1000 panas according to their merit". According to Manu<sup>2510</sup> the king shall always provide for a śrotriya. "Informed of his Vedic knowledge and holy rituals, the king" says he "shall provide for his proper means of subsistence; and like a son of his own loins, he shall protect him (śrotriya) from thieves etc." 2511 Again "Let the king make gifts of all kinds of gems as well as of fees for religious sacrifices to these brahmins and to those who are well-versed in the Vedas".2512 According to Kamandaka<sup>2518</sup> the king should give money to learned Brahmins. According to Sukrāchārya "pundits, females and creepers do not flourish without resting grounds." \$814 Again, the king should have three characters-that of the Autumn Moon to the learned, that of the Summer Sun to the enemies and that of the Spring Sun to his subjects. 2518 Indeed Sukracharya while mentioning the ordinary political and administrative functions of the State does not forget the educational activities of what has been called the Cultur Staat. Says he: "The king should always take such steps as may advance the arts and sciences of the country". 2516 "He should train up the officers appointed with salaries (bhūtipositām) in the cultivation of all the arts and having seen that they have finished their studies, should appoint them in their

<sup>9506</sup> Ep. Ind., II. p. 3.

<sup>2507</sup> Canto XVI. 25.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Anusasanaparba, 69th adhyaya.

asos Arthafastra (R. Syāmafastri's Eng. Trans.), p. 308.

<sup>9610</sup> VIII. 895.

<sup>2511</sup> Manu VI. 135.

<sup>9519</sup> Ibid., XI. 4.

<sup>\*\*18</sup> Nitisāra, 1st sarga, floka 18.

<sup>9814</sup> Sakraniti (Eng. Trans., by Prof. Benoy K. Sarkar), Ch. I. line 767.

<sup>2818</sup> Ibid., Ch. II. lines 566-67.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Ibid., Ch. I. line 741.

special fields. He should also honour those every year who are very high in arts and sciences." These lines imply that the king should maintain students with scholarships for the study of the various branches of learning and when they have been sufficiently educated, should appoint them to their proper posts in Government service. Sukracharya further says: "Those who are proficient in revealed literature (Vedas) and the smrtis, those who are well-versed in the Puranas, those who know the sastras (other than the srutis, smrtis and the Puranas), the astrologers, those who are masters of medical science, those who are versed in religious rites and ceremonies..... these classes of men the king should worship and maintain by stipends (bhūtvā), gifts (dāna) and honour (māna). Otherwise the king is disparaged and earns an ill-name."2518 These lines thus suggest a sort of literary pensions granted to qualified men to enable them to devote their whole time and energy to the pursuit of their special investigations. In the Jatakas we accordingly find a class of students who paid the teacher's fee from the scholarships awarded to them by the states to which they belonged. 2519 Generally such students were sent as companions of the princes of their respective countries who were deputed to Taxila for education. We read of the sons of royal chaplains of the courts of Benares and Rajgaha accompanying their respective princes to Taxila for their education. 2520 Cases, however, are not wanting of students being sent on their own account for higher studies to Taxila at the expense of the state. Thus we read of a Brahmin boy of Benares being sent by his king at royal expense to Taxila for the purpose of specialising in the science of archery. 25%1

Sometimes the king helped the students in giving dakṣiṇā to their teachers on the completion of their studies. On one occasion the conventional sum of fourteen crores of rupees is said to have been paid by Kautsa to Varatantu in return for the fourteen lores he had learnt. In this story the teacher first asked for nothing and gave the

<sup>2517</sup> Ibid., Ch. I. lines 737-40.

<sup>\*\*1\*</sup> Jataka V. 263.

<sup>9521</sup> Jätaka V. 127.

<sup>2515</sup> Ibid., Ch. II. lines 247-51.

<sup>9520</sup> Jätaka III, 238 and V, 247.

<sup>2522</sup> Raghuvamiam, Canto V. clokes 1-85.

pupil permission to go home saying that he was pleased with his devotion; but the latter pressed him rather in an unmannerly tone to ask for something and hence angrily the teacher asked him to produce that enormous sum. But how could the poor Brahmin pupil get it? It is described that he got it from king Raghu. In the Mahābhārata<sup>2595</sup> we are told how Utanka, pupil of Veda paid his guru-dakṣiṇā by begging the earring of the queen of the king.

The king we are told even at the point of death must not take any revenue from a learned (śrotriya) brahmana; nor must he suffer a śrotriya, living in his territory to be oppressed with hunger. 2524 The kingdom of a king wherein a śrotriya is oppressed with hunger, is soon consumed by that hunger. 2525 Kautilya 2526 savs: "He (the king) shall avoid the property of Brahmins learned in the Vedas. He may purchase this too, by offering price to the owners." Again "learned men, orators, charitable and brave persons should be favoured (by the king) with gifts of land and money and with remission of taxes."2527 The reasons for this exemption from taxation are thus given: "The religious rites which a śrotriya, protected by the king, performs every day, tend to increase the longevity, riches and territories of the king."2598 Moreover, "whatever Vedic studies do his subjects do.....through his properly protecting them, he enjoyeth a sixth part of the merit thereof." ssaid" says Vasistha 3530 "that the brahmana first made the Veda The brahmana saves one from misfortune. Therefore a brāhmaņa shall not be made to pay taxes." In Avijāana-sakuntalam \* 581 king Duşmanta says that he receives from the brahmanas a sixth of their penance as tax. In Raghuvamśam<sup>2582</sup> king Atithi is similarly said to receive one-sixth of the religious merit as tax from the hermit-teachers living in his kingdom. The meaning is that the hermit-teachers had

<sup>2528</sup> Ādiparba, 3rd adhyāya, Pouşyaparbādhyāya.

<sup>2524</sup> Manu VII. 133. 2525 Manu VII. 134.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Arthadistra (R. Sjämadistri's Eng. Trans.), p. 302.

<sup>2526</sup> Manu VII. 186.

Manu VIII. 205. 1550 Vasistha Samhita, Ch. I.

<sup>8881</sup> Act V. 16; Act II. 18 and 14. 9882 Canto XVII. 65.

to pay no tax while they kept themselves engaged in educational duties.

A graphic description of royal solicitude for the welfare of the hermit-teachers and their seats of learning is preserved in the Raghuvamśam.<sup>2538</sup> When Kautsa after finishing his education at Varatantu's hermitage approached Raghu for money to pay his preceptor, Raghu addressed Kautsa as follows:—

"Oh thou keen-witted one! is thy preceptor—who is the first among sages, proficient in adapting the hymns, from whom all knowledge has been acquired by thee just as all activity is gained by the world from the Sun—all hale.

"I hope the three-fold penance of the great sage which has long been hoarded up (by him) by the exercise of his body, his speech as well as by his mind and which disturbs the firmness of Indra, does not suffer waste by any kind of impediment.

"I hope there is no calamity such as a hurricane etc., in regard to the trees of the hermitage which are the beguilers of your fatigue and which have been reared up just like your children with all kinds of efforts headed by the construction of basins.

"I hope the young ones of the deer are alright—those young ones whose wish to browse the kuśa grass was not interrupted through fondness although it was a requisite for ceremonies and whose umblical cords dropped down on the laps of the sages.

"I hope the waters of your landing-place are in favourable condition—those waters in which your prescribed ablutions are performed, from which handfuls of funeral offerings are given to the manes of your ancestors and whose sandy banks are marked with the sixth part of the gleaned corn.

"I hope the crops of nibara and other corns which are the sylvan means of the sustenance of your corporeal frames and from which portions are allotted to the guests coming at times are not attacked by domestic cattle whose natural food is husk and straw.

<sup>2486</sup> Canto V. 1-31,

"Have you been permitted by the great sage, after his having thoroughly educated you and being himself satisfied, to adopt the life of a householder? For, it is now time for you to enter on the second stage of life which is capable of benefitting all.

"My mind is not satisfied with the arrival of a respectable personage like thee; it is eager to be engaged in some task assigned (by thee). Is it at the desire of thy preceptor or through thy personal wish that thou hast come from the forest to do me honour?" 2034

In the Mahabharata we are told: "It is the bounden duty of kings to respect (literally worship) srotriva brahmanas". 2885 "If a Veda-vid snataka brahmana without employment resorts to the profession of a thief, the king should maintain him after suggesting some occupation to him".2536 "If a brahmana desires to leave a kingdom where he cannot get a living, the king should grant a stipend for the brahmana and his wife. If the brahmana still persists in leaving the kingdom, the king should approach him and say: 'Sir, if you leave my kingdom, with whose support shall my subjects live?" 12587 In the Adiparba of the Mahabharata 1538 we are told how a teacher by name, angry at the insult offered to his daughter Devayoni by Sarmistha, the daughter of king Braparba, threatened to leave the latter's kingdom whereupon the king appeased the wrath of the teacher by agreeing to ask his own daughter Sarmistha to act as a maid-servant to the teacher's daughter Devayoni. The respect paid to learned Brahmins and to hermit-teachers in particular is illustrated in Dasaratha's visit to the hermitage of Vasistha, 2889 Bharata's visit to to that of Varadwaja, 2040 Satrughna's visit to that of Valmiki, 2541 Duşmanta's visit to that of Kanva, 2542 Rāma's visit to that of Vālmiki 2548 and Puspabhūti's visit to that of Vairava. 2544

<sup>2884</sup> Raghuvamsam, Canto V. 4-11.

<sup>2558</sup> Santiparba, 76th adhyaya.

<sup>\*\*\*\* 78</sup>th, 79th and 80th adhyayas.

<sup>2840</sup> Ramayana, Ayodhyakanda, 90th sarga.

<sup>2848</sup> Avijfiana-sakuntalam, Act I.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Harşacharita, III.

<sup>2888</sup> Anusasanaparba, 38rd adhyaya.

ssay Santiparba, 89th adhyaya.

<sup>2539</sup> Rāmāyaņa, Uttarakāņda, 51st sarga.

<sup>2541</sup> Rāmāyaņa, Uttarakāņda, 65th sarga.

<sup>2563</sup> Uttara-Rama-charita.

That only learned men were to be patronised by the State is clearly laid down. Thus we are told that "the king should punish with life, the village which harbours thieves by giving alms to the twice-born who do not perform religious rites and study the Vedas. The kingdom where the ignorant partake of the food which should be taken by the learned, courts drought or a great calamity appears there. There the god of rain pours down showers where the king adores these—the brahmanas learned in the Vedas and well-versed in the scriptures". 2545 Vasistha Samhita 2546 speaks in the same strain: "The king shall punish the village where brahmanas failing to observe their sacred duties and study the Veda, live by begging, for, it feeds the thieves". In the Mahabharata 2547 Bhisma says to Yudhisthir that the king should take taxes from those brahmanas who are not śrotriyas and employ them without pay.

Royal patronage of learning in India is as old as the Rgveda. Numberless hymns of the Rgveda show the grateful danastutis of rsis in praise of their patrons. The Iksakus of Kośala, the Janakas of Videha and the kings of Benarcs were renowned patrons of learning. Indeed the patronage of learning by Janaka was on such a scale that it made his contemporary Ajātaśatru, king of Kāśi acknowledge in disappointment that he could hardly find any available learned man in the country, whom he could patronise, for all the learned men were running to the court of Janaka and settling there. 2548 His only enjoyment was not the pleasures of the usual royal hunt or chase but the company of the learned as the Emperor Asoka in later times replaced the royal pleasure-tours by religious tours and pilgrimages. Indeed in the age of the Upanisads the Aristorcracies of Brain and Bullion lived in happy harmony and mutual esteem. Brahmins, proud of their intellectual lineage and attainments were not slow to receive instruction wherever they found. At the same time a large part in the intellectual life of the country was played by kings who threw themselves into it with an enthusiasm that testifies to their genuine

<sup>2545</sup> Atri Samhitä, Ch. I. 51s. 22-24.

<sup>2547</sup> Säntiparba, 76th adhyāya.

<sup>254 °</sup> Ch. III.

<sup>2540</sup> Bihad. Up., II. 1. 1.

democratic feeling, their sense of universal brotherhood in the Kingdom of Spirit, of which all were entitled to be free citizens. Some of the kings were themselves leaders of thought and drew even brahmana students for instruction in the special truths of which they were the repositories. Such were Janaka of Videha, Ajātaśatru of Kāśī, Pravahana Jaibali of the Pańchāla country and Aśwapati Kaikeya. In the Mahābhārata<sup>2549</sup> Arjuna told King Birāta that Yudhiṣṭhir used to maintain 88,000 snātakas. In the Banaparba<sup>2550</sup> Draupadī says to Satyabhāmā: "88,000 snātaka householders were daily maintained. Dainty golden (?) dishes were daily kept ready for another batch of 10,000 snātakas. I used to receive them all by offering food, drink and clothing". From the Jātakas we have already seen that state scholarships were awarded to some students for studies abroad.

Asoka furthered the cause of education by establishing innumerable monasteries and nunneries throughout his Empire. He built 500 monasteries in Kashmere alone, of which 100 were seen by Hiuen Tsang<sup>2551</sup> and 300 by Ou-kong.<sup>2552</sup> Even in far off Nepal he founded such institutions specially in the city of Deo-patan built by him after his son-in-law Devapala who with his daughter Charumati chose to settle there. 2558 The existence of these institutions must be greatly responsible for the considerable extent of literacy in the country where the masses could read the edicts of Asoka written in their own dialects and scripts. Menander the Great was an ardent patron of Buddhist learning. From the Milinda-Panha 2554 we learn that the state encouraged very liberally the craftsmen who introduced highly trained apprentices to the king. The name of Kaniska is associated with three eminent Buddhist writers viz., Nāgārjuna, Aśvaghosa and Vasumitra. Charaka, the most celebrated author of the Indian system of medicine is reputed to have been the court-physician of Kaniska. His son Huviska also established a monastery at Mathura. Hāla, the 17th Andhra king was

<sup>254</sup> Birātaparba, 70th adhyāya.

<sup>2550 231</sup>st adhyāya.

<sup>2651</sup> Beal-Life of Hinen Tsang, p. 61.

<sup>2552</sup> Levi and Chavannes-L' Itineraire d' Oukong, Journal Asiatique, 1895, VI. pp. 341 eqq.

<sup>9455</sup> Percival Landon-Nepal, Vol. I.

<sup>2554</sup> VI. 9 and 10.

a patron of Prakrt literature. Himself a learned man, Samudragupta was fond of the company of learned men and his name is famous as the patron of Vasubandhu the celebrated Buddhist scholar and Harisena the poet-laureate, Chandrapupta II Vikramāditya is probably the original of Rājā Vikrama of Ujjain, famous in Indian legends as the king whose court was adorned by the "nine gems" headed by Kālidāsa. Āryabhaṭṭa the mathematican, Varāhamihir, the astronomer and Brahmagupta—all received their due encouragement at the hands of Gupta emperors.

Harsa was one of the best patrons of men of letters. As Bana 2555 puts it, 'his learning at once suggests helping the learned'. He used to call forth poetical compositions by the literary men of his court who at one time presented their sovereign with the Jatakas collected into the work called Jataka-māla. Among examples of his patronage we know of Bapa. Another literary protege of Harşa was Haridatta who is mentioned in an inscription<sup>2556</sup> as raised to eminence by Harsa. Hiuen Tsang was also treated by Harsa "with almost royal honours" "Siladityaraja reverencing him more than ever bestowed on the Master of the Law 10,000 pieces of gold, 30,000 pieces of silver, 100 garments of superior cotton, whilst the princes of the eighteen kingdoms each presented him with rare jewels. But all these the Master of the Law declined to accept. The king then ordered his attendant ministers to place a howdah upon a great elephant, with the request that the Master of the Law would mount thereon, whilst he directed the great ministers of the state to accompany him". \$557 To Jaysena 'who had become the admiration of the age by the range of his knowledge including subjects like Hetuvidyā, Śabdavidyā, Yogaśāstra, the four Vedas, Astronomy, Geography, Medicine, Magic and Arithmetic', Harsa made the offer of the revenue of eighty large towns in Orissa which, however, the scholar refused to accept. 2558 We may well recall in this connection the established maxim of Harşa's policy that a fourth of the revenue from the crown lands should be spent on rewarding high intellectual eminence and another fourth on gifts to the various sects.2559

sees Harracharita-Cowell and Thomas, p. 62.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Ep. Ind., I. 180.

<sup>2557</sup> Beal-Life of Hinen Tsang, p. 180.

<sup>8550</sup> Ibid., pp. 158-54.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Watters-Yuan Chwang, Vol. I. p. 176.

The example of Harsa Siladitya was not without its influence on some of his subordinate kings. Kumāra, king of Assam showed a commendable anxiety to profit by the learned company of Hiuen Teang. 2560 At the time of parting with the Chinese pilgrim Kumāra-rāja addressed Hiuen Tsang thus: "If the master is able to dwell in my dominion and receive my religious offerings, I will undertake to found one hundred monasteries on the Master's behalf". 2561 When the pilgrim took his leave "the king with a large body of attendants accompanied him for several ten lis and then returned. On their final separation none of them could restrain their tears and sad lamentations".2562 "Three days after the separation the king (S'iladitya) in company with Kumāra-raja and Dhruvadatta-raja (of Valabhi).....again came to accompany him for a time and to take final leave. Then he commissioned official guides to accompany the pilgrim and the escort of Udhita-raja already attached to him with letters to the end that the princes of the countries through which the pilgrim passed might provide modes of conveyance". \$583 Thus the kings of Jalandhara, Kashmere and Kapisa honoured the pilgrim and arranged for his comforts. 2564 The king of Kashmere himself went to the river-side to pay his respects and escort him. He then sent the heir-apparent to the throne in advance to direct the people of the capital and the body of priests to prepare flags and banners and with them to march from the city to escort.2565 A little before Harsa, "Purnavarmaraja, lord of Magadha, had great respect for learned men, and honoured those distinguished as sages: Learning this man's renown (Jayasena of encyclopædic knowledge) he was much pleased and sent messengers to invite him to come to his court and nominated him "Kwo-sse" (Master of the kingdom) and assigned for his support the revenue of twenty large towns. But the Master of S'astras (Jayasena) declined to receive them ", 2566

The Chandel king of Bundelkhund Kirtivarman by name was the patron of Krsnamisra whose allegorical play, the "Prabodha-chandrodaya"

see Beal-Life of Hiuen Tsang, pp. 170-71.

<sup>2561</sup> Ibid., pp. 187-88.

<sup>2562</sup> Ibid., p. 189.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Ibid., pp. 189-90. \*\*\*\* Ibid., pp. 153-54.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Ibid., pp. 190-98. \*\*\*\* Ibid., pp. 192-98.

was staged at his court under his patronage. The Pala rulers similarly patronised men of learning like Atisa and Bīradeva. first Pala king Gopala founded the monastic University of Odantipura. 2567 Another Pala ruler Dharmapala founded the famous monastic University of Vikramaśila which included several colleges. 9 568 Another Pāla king Rāmapāla was the patron of Sandhyākara Nandī, the author of Rama-charita. The Chauhan prince Prithwiraja was the patron of Chand Bardai, the author of the great epic 'Chand Raisa'. The Chalukya ruler of Kalyani Vikramañaka was the patron of the famous poet Bilhana and the celebrated jurist Vijnaneswara, author of the Mitaksara, the leading authority on Hindu law outside Bengal. King Yasovarman of Kanauj was the patron of Bhababhūti, the sweet nightingale of Sanskrit literature and of Vakpati, the author of a Prakrit poem of unusual merit, called Gaudavaho or the 'Slaying of the king of Gauda'. About Jayapida's patronage of learning we read in Kalhana's Rājatarangini: 2569 "By him learning which had hidden itself far away, was made to appear (again) in this land which was the original home, just as the Vitasta by Kāsyapa...... The king by bringing from abroad (competent) expositors, restored in his own country the (study of Mahāvasya), which had been interrupted...... The pureminded (king) did not allow any king to compete with him but was proud of being able himself to compete with the learned...... As the king was attached to the learned, the princes who came to serve him and desired to reach his frequented the houses of the scholars. The king searched for and collected all scholars to such an extent that in the lands of other kings there was a dearth of learned men. He attached to himself and elevated on account of his learning, Thakkiya..... The learned Bhatta Udbhata was this kings' sabhapati... ......... He took the poet Damodaragupta, the author of the (poem) Kuttinimata, as his chief councillor as Bali (had taken) Kavi. Manoratha, Sankhadanta, Cataka and Samdhimat were his poets and Vamana and others his

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> V. A. Smith—Early History of India, third edition, p. 397.

<sup>8866</sup> S. C. Das in the J. B. T. S., Part I. p. 11.

<sup>1</sup>V. 486-97; Stein, The Chronicles of Kashmere, Vol. I. pp. 165-66.

ministers." In the reign of Avantivarman (of Kashmere) "the minister Sura by honouring learned men, with a seat in the (king's) sabha, caused learning whose flow had been interrupted, to descend (again) upon this land. The scholars who were granted great fortunes and high honours. proceeded to the sabha in vehicles (litters) worthy of kings. Muktakarna, Sivaswamin, the poet Anandavardhana (author of the Dhvanyaloka, a rhetorical treatise and the poer Devisataka) and Ratnakara (author of the great kavya called Harivijava) obtained fame during the reign of Avantivarman. In the assembly-hall of the minister Sura, the bard Krtamandara recited always the following Arya (verse) in order to remind (his master) of his resolve: This is the time for granting benefits, while fortune, fickle by nature, is present. Why should time for benefits, while misfortune is always there be again imminent?"2570 "He (King Kalasa) and King Bhoja, both (themselves) learned and friends of poets were at that time equally renowned for their liberality."2571 "The king (Harsa of Kashmere) who was the crest jewel of the learned, adorned men of learning with jewels and bestowed upon them the privileges of using litters, horses, parasols etc." \* Harsa was the patron of Kanaka, the learned musician who was Kalhana's own uncle. 2578 Kalhana's graphic description of king Jayasimha's patronage of learning is preserved in the following verses: "In the black darkness of ignorance, learning had shown forth at intervals, in passing lightning flahses of fortune (coming) from such clouds as Jayapida and other (royal patrons). He, however, has given permanent brilliancy to the picture of his virtue which is of wondrous variety, by bestowing wealth which last like the radiant light of a jewel. He had made scholars and their descendants owners as long as the planets, the Sun and the Moon should last, of villages possessing an abundance of unimpaired fields. The houses he has constructed for men of learning, raise their terraces to such a height that the seven rsis (the great Bear) come to see them as they are towering above their heads. Safe is the journey for scholars who

<sup>2570</sup> Rijstar., V. 35-96; Stein, I. pp. 189-90. 2571 Rijstar., VII. 259; Stein, I. p. 290.

<sup>3272</sup> Rajatar., VII. 934; Stein, I. p. 340. Compare VII. 944, 948.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Rajatar., VII. 1117-18; Stein, I. p. 354.

follow him as their caravan-leader on the path on which his intuition guides, and which has been found by his knowledge. Just as Aryaraja, while lying on his bed, had chiefly found delight in (listening to) the sound arising from the flow of the water with which the Lingas were being washed, so he when about to go to sleep, dispenses with flutes, lutes and other (music) and finds his pleasure in reflecting over the talk of guileless men of learning". 2574 Bilhana was made by Paramadi, the lord of Karnāta, his chief pandita and when he used to travel on elephants through the hill country of Karnata his parasol was borne aloft before the king. But when he heard that the liberal Harsa (of Kashmere) was like a kinsman to true poets. Bilhana thought even so great a splendour a deception. 2575 Kşitiraja, lord of Lohara is praised by Bilhana as a distinguished patron of poets equal in fame to Bhoja. 2576 King Munja Paramara of Dhar was a liberal patron of Sanskrit poets such as Padmagupta, Dhanika, Halayudha and Dhanapala. When Muñja died poets were in despair for the goddess of Saraswatī though not for Laksmi or Indrani. The goddess of wealth and valour might find their favourites but the goddess of learning was now, they thought, without support. 2577 But Bhoja of Dhar falsified their misgivings. He built a college for Sanskrit studies at Dhar and patronised learned men like Rājasekhara, the author of Karpūramanjuri and other plays whom he appointed as tutor to his son (Mahendrapala). Dhanapala another poet is properly associated with Bhoja and Uvata, a native of Badnagar, wrote his commentary on Vajseniya Samhitā at Ujjain The inscription edited at p. 209 Ep. Ind., I. during Bhoja's rule:2578 tells us that "there was no trace of any quarrel under his rule for, he brought about friendship even between the goddess of learning and the goddess of wealth."2579 King Jayasimha Chalukya of

<sup>9874</sup> Rajatar., VIII. 2393-99; Stein, II. p. 185.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Rajatar., VII. 949; Stein, I. pp. 340-41.

Buhler-Vikramankacharita, XVIII. 47-50.

Lakşmiyarsyati govinde bîratrîbîrabetmani
Gate munje yataşpunje niralamba saraswati.

<sup>\$898</sup> Col. Luard and Lele—The Paramäras of Dhar and Malwa, p. 21.

Parasparabirodhasya tasya rijye kathaiba ka Samgatam irisaraswatyorapi yena prabarttitam.

Anhilwad also patronised Jain and Hindu pundits, the greatest of whom was Hemachandra, the author of the famous Sanskrit grammar Siddha Hema and of the poem Dvyāśraya. Govindachandra of Kanauj made Laksmidhara, the author of Vyāvahāra-kalpataru (a treatise on law and procedure) his minister for war and peace. Jayachandra Kanauj patronised Sri Harsa, the author of the epic poem Naisadha. Arjunavarman of Dhar patronised Madana, a dramatist and a commentator on Amarusataka and on the works of Bhoja. Viśaladeva of Ajmere patronised Somadeva, the author of the drama Lalitavigraharaja. Laksmanasena like his father Ballalasena of Bengal was a great patron of learned men among whom Halayudha, Umapatidhara, Sarana Govardhanacharya, Dhoyi, Jayadeva (author of Gitagovindam) and Sridharadasa were the most famous. Regarding Anandapāla, son of Jaipāla, anecdotes are preserved showing his patronage of grammatical learning. 2580 The Chola ruler Rajaraja of Tanjore was a great patron of music and dancing. He built many colleges and appointed learned teachers in them who taught literature and sastra to the students. 2581 Jaitugi Jaitrapala of Devagiri made or Laksmidhara, the son of the famous astronomer Vaskaracharya his sabha-pandita. Prataparudra (1316 A. D.) Kakatiya of Warangal was a famous patron of poets, in whose reign Prataparudriya, a well-known work on poetics was written by Vaidyanatha.

There are numerous evidences to show that the kings richly endowed the seats of learning. We are told by Hiuen Tsang how "six kings in connected succession" viz., Sakraditya, Buddhagupta, Tathāgatarāja, Balāditya and Vajra of Magadha and a king of Central India added to the structures of the monastic University of Nālanda. At the time of Hiuen Tsang "the king of the country respects and honours the priests and has remitted the revenues of about one hundred villages for the endowment of the convent. Two hundred householders in these villages, day by day, contribute several hundred piculs of ordinary

<sup>2880</sup> Alberuni's India—Sachau's Eng. Trans., Vol. I. p. 135; Vol. II. pp. 13-14.

<sup>2551</sup> Aiyar—Historical Sketch of the Ancient Deccan, p. 251.

Beal-Life of Hiuen Tsang, pp. 110-11,

<sup>\*\*\*\* 1</sup> picul=138} lba.

rice and several hundred catties 2584 in weight of butter and milk. 2588 Harsa Silzditva-raja also constructed a vihara covered with brass plates by the side of this Nalanda monastery, about a 100 feet in height. 2556 According to I-Tsing the lands in possession of this monastery contain more than two hundred villages thus showing that from the time of the visit of Hiuen Tsang the revenue of another one hundred villages was placed at the disposal of the monastery. These villages as attested by the pilgrim were bestowed by kings of many generations. 2587 Inscriptional evidences support this assertion of Chinese pilgrim. For. Mr. Hirananda S'astri who was for some time in charge of the Nalanda excavations has discovered an inscription which records the grant by king Devapala of certain villages in the Rajagrha and Gaya districts of S'rinagara, identified with the Patna Division, for the up-keep of the Nalanda monastery, for the comfort the viksus coming there from the four quarters, for medical aid, for the writing of Dharmaratnas (i. e., religious books) and for similar purposes. An undated inscription has been found at Benares which Dr. Vogel thinks to be of the eighth or nineth century in which there is a reference to a pious gift to Nalanda 9588

Similarly the monastic University of Vikramasīlā was furnished by its royal founder Dharmapāla with four establishments each consisting of twenty-seven monks belonging to the four principal sects of Buddhism. He also endowed it with rich grants, fixing regular allowances for the maintenance of the priests and the students. In the tenth century a satra (free-board hostel) was added to it by one of the sons of King Sanātana of Varendra, better known by his name of Jetāri.

As regards the management of these endowments to the monasteries I-Tsing observes: "As cultivation by the priests themselves is prohibited by the great sage they suffer their tillable lands to be

<sup>2554 1</sup> catty=160 lbs.

<sup>2505</sup> Beal-Life of Hiuen Tsang, pp. 112-13.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Ibid., p. 158-59.

<sup>2557</sup> Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 65.

<sup>2556</sup> Arch. Surv. Rep., 1903-04, p. 219;

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> S. C. Das in the J. B. T. S., Part I. pp. 1-10.

cultivated by others freely and partake only a portion of the products. Thus they live their just life, avoiding worldly affairs and free from the faults of destroying lives by ploughing and watering fields."2590 "The produce of the farms and gardens and the profits arising from trees and fruits are distributed annually in shares to cover the cost of clothing...... Is it reasonable that he who gives food should wish the recipient to live without clothing?..... the Church can make use of the benefaction as it likes, without any fault, as long as it carries out the original intention of the giver. But in China an individual generally cannot get clothing from the Church-property and is thus obliged to provide for this necessity, thereby neglecting his proper function." The secular students, however, who had no intention of joining the order "must not be fed from the permanent property of the Samgha, for, this is prohibited in the teaching of the Buddha; but if they have done some laborious work for the Samgha, they are to be fed by the monastery according to their merit. Food made for ordinary purposes presented by the giver, to be used by the students can be given to them without wrong-doing."9 599

Similar endowments were also made by many south Indian kings. Thus, Kulottunga Chola III made the gift of a village and some gold ornaments to the god Vyākaraṇa-dāna Perumal to whom was attached the famous Grammar school of Pāṇinī. La Sannāthamaṇḍapa by the royal grant of Virājendradeva (1062 A. D.) were established (1) a school for the study of the Vedas, S'āstras, Grammar, etc., (2) a hostel for students and (3) a hospital. A Chālukyan queen also made an endowment to the 140 mahājanas of a village belonging to her for the maintenance of the commentator on the sāstras, the reader of the Purāṇas and the teacher of the Rg-veda and the Yajurveda to students. The Kakātīya kings also patronised the Pāsupata teachers as also the celebrated scholar Viseswara-sīvāchārya

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 62.

<sup>9503</sup> Ibid., p. 106.

<sup>2504</sup> No. 182 of 1915, Madras Ep. Report.

<sup>2501</sup> Ibid., pp. 193-94.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> No. 120 of 1912, Madrae Ep. Report.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> No. 518 of 1915, Madras Ep. Report.

of the Gauda country who used one of the many royal gifts bestowed on him to found at Mandaran (the present Mandadam) institutions like mathas and schools of students of Saiva Puritans with a staff of eight professors, three for teaching the three Vedas and five for Logic, Literature and the Agamas.<sup>2596</sup>

Examples of these royal benefactions help to modify the impression that religions charities in India have always flowed in one particular channel and assumed one stereotyped form, viz., the direct furtherence of the worship of the gods, the propagation of the doctrine. The type of endowments we have just considered shows conclusively how the religious sense of the people in those ancient times was quite sound and even 'modern' in its tendencies by endowing not simply the temples of the gods but also the hardly less sacred temples of learning.

That the state in those ancieut days made some provision for the care and education of orphans will be evident from the Arthaéastra of Kautilya<sup>2597</sup> who says: "Those orphans (asambandhinah) who are to be necessarily fed by the state and are put to study science, palmistry (angavidyā), sorcery (māyā gata), the duties of the various orders of religious life, legardemain (jamvakavidyā) and the reading of omens and augury (antarachakra) are class-mate spies or spies learning by social intercouse (Saṃsargavidyāsatrinah)." In is interesting to to find that in the Moslem period some of the (Muhammadan) rulers of the Bahamani kingdom made provision for the education of orphans, allocating funds for their support and for the learned men engaged to teach them.

The state in Ancient India seems to have made some provision for the training of spies. For, Kautilya refers to spies who are "well-trained in the art of putting on disguises appropriate to countries

\*\*\*\* Arthafistra (R. Syāmafistri's Eng. Trans.), p. 22.

Madras Ep. Report, 1917, p. 122. Similarly Inscription Sk. 153 records Jayasimha's grant for the feeding and clothing of students in the local Siddheśwara temple.

Another Inscription Sk. 94 records a grant for feeding pupils there.

and trades "1598 and "taught various languages," 2599 "arts," 2606 "the use of signals and cipher-writing (gūḍha-lekhya)" 2601

The above survey certainly brings out in a very favourable light the interest in and care for the education of the people evinced by the Ancient Indian rulers. Some of them even attended the Convocation of some of the monastic Universities (S. C. Das-Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow, pp. 59-60) and conferred the diplomas on their distinguished alumni as at Vikramasilā. (S. C., Vidyabhūsaņa—History of the Mediæval School of Indian Logic, pp. 79, 151 and Appendix C.) Some of them according to Rajasekhara (Kabyamimamsa, pp. 54-55) used to hold assemblies for the examination of the works of poets and to reward those whose works stood the test. (Compare for S. India, the Manimekhalai, Books 1 and 27, Quoted in Indian Culture Through the Ages, Vol. I. p. 218 foot-note). There was, however, no education department, no inspector of schools and colleges. None of the rulers even framed like Akbar regulations for the guidance of schools and colleges as mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari. 2602 But one good result emerged out of this: the educational institutions enjoyed autonomy and freedom. The rulers assigned to the educational institutions the material means for their support, gifts of land, grants of money for buildings and for the necessary equipment but did not offer strait-jackets to confine them. In the modern system, Education is under the control of a government department, the Legislature makes laws for it, the executive appoints its Directors, who are really its masters, sends the Inspectors into its schools and colleges and puts the educators in a steel-frame, which it misnames efficiency. But in Ancient India kings had been the nursing fathers of Education, they even built Universities and poured their treasures at their feet but claimed in them no control. The state did interfere in matters of discipline (Kautilya's Arthasastra, R. Syamasastri's Eng. Trans., p. 224, ante, p. 146), but it was on the side of leniency: it sought to counteract undue severity or rigour (Manu VIII.

<sup># 1</sup>bid., p. 28,

<sup>2600</sup> Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>2500</sup> Ibid., p. 156.

<sup>2001</sup> Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>3003</sup> Blockman and Jarret's Eng. Trans., L. p. 278; Gladwin's Hng. Trans., 260,

299-300: Gautama ch. II. ante, p. 141) or to enforce the terms of indenture between a mastercraftsman and his apprentice (Nārada V. 19.: Brhaspati XVI. 6; Yajñabalkya II. 187; Gautama II. 43-44; ante, pp. 207-209). The kings, as the numerous South Indian incriptions testify, usually gave the endowments to the village assemblies who used to watch over the management of the seats of learning in the locality. (See ante, pp. 325-29). Even when a king wanted to bestow patronage on a poet, he did it through some village assembly. The assembly of Tribhubana Mahadevi Chaturvedimangalam awarded. under orders of Kulottunga I half a veli and two ma of land to the poet Tirunarayana Bhattan, as reward for his poem in praise of the king's exploits (Madras Ep. Rep., No. 198 of Similarly, the Tamil Academy was summoned by kings but it was the Academy and not the king who regulated state patronage set the stamp of approval on Tamil works. Again, a monarch might enter into the Convocation of a University but no one rose to greet him and he took his seat like any other visitor, but on the entrance of its Head, the 'Venerable of Venerables (Atisa)' all rose and turned their faces towards him and in silence awaited his words. 2608 In the Avariya Jataka 2604 the law is taught to the King of Benares, who listens with folded hands, behind the teacher, sitting on The University was the Temple of Learning and the the ground. 4605 learned were its only Hierophants. When Learning visited Royalty. when a wise one entered a court, even Sri Krsna descended from his throne and bowed at the feet of the sage.

sees S. C. Das-Indian Pundits in the Lands of Snow, pp. 59-60.

<sup>2404</sup> Jataka III. 229.

<sup>2005</sup> In the Chāvaka Jātaka (Jātaka X. 302) a king of Benares is taught the sacred texts. The pupil is on a high seat, under the mango tree, the teacher on a lower seat, during the lesson. The Bodhisattva realises that it is against good form.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## EDUCATION AND THE SOCIETY IN ANCIENT INDIA.

We have already referred to social efficiency as the aim of Ancient Indian education. In the parting words a teacher generally addressed to his student 2606 when he was permitted to return home after the completion of his studies, we have already seen how the householder's life and fatherhood are enjoined as a compulsory religious duty in the interests of the continuity of the race, how the duty of studying and teaching the Veda is enjoined in the interests of the continuity of culture, how the duties of domestic and social life are indicated by asking the student to honour father, mother, teacher and guests as gods, to honour superiors, to give in proper manner and spirit, in joy and humility, in fear and compassion, to perform sacrifice, to look after his health and worldly prosperity and in all doubtful cases to order himself according to the judgment of approved authorities. In another passage 2607 learning and teaching the Veda are enjoined together with marriage, fatherhood, grandfatherhood, the pursuit of right, truth, penance, restraint, tranquility, consercration of fires, entertainment of guests and social duties. Indeed, as the student was enabled to carry on his studies with the help of the ungrudging charity of his fellow-countrymen it is quite natural that from the very beginning he would realise his duty to the society and the community at large.

Even the ascetics were not againt social service: they left the world to give the law unto the world. They did not confine their knowledge and wisdom to themselves but were anxious to impart it to their fellows in society. As Hiuen Tsang remarks: 'Forgetting fatigue', they 'expatiate in the arts and sciences'. As a concrete example we can cite the case of the Buddha whose spirituality was consistent

<sup>2000</sup> Tattiriya Upanisad I. 11.

<sup>2407</sup> Ibid., I. 9.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Watters-Yuan Chwang, Vol. I. p. 161,

with the positivist ideal of social service. He was in the world and vet not of it. In the sphere of Politics and state-craft his advice was eagerly sought. If there is a feud between the Sakyas and the Kolivas which may end in bloodshed, it is the arbitration of an ascetic that is invoked and stops it: If the Emperor of Magadha has a plan to crush the liberties of a neighbouring republic, the Buddha's opinion is to be first sought on its prospects? If there is a new chief appointed for the Sakya state, the Buddha must address him a discourse! He showed interest even in the wars of his times e. g., the two wars between Pasenadi, then king of both Kosola and Kāsi and Ajātasatru. in the first of which the former had to retreat and in the second captured the latter, "his nephew" alive; 2609 also the war between Vidudhava of Kośala and the Śākyas which he vainly tried to prevent. Pasenadi consulted him on every point, whether it was a meal, the birth of a daughter, daily habits, the death of a grandmother at 120. law and judgment or war. 2610 Thus by instructing kings, the Buddha could influence their administration and the well-being of their subjects.

Indeed, the relation of Education to society is a vital one. 'It gives to the nation the priceless assets of learned and skilled men and women of high character to carry on the work in every department of national life. Learned men produce literature which raises the nation in the eyes of the world and far more important, spreads knowledge over the earth, literature which ennobles and inspires not only contemporaries but generations yet unborn. Science makes discoveries which add to human knowledge, increase man's power over the forces of Nature, and-if it treads only righteous paths-will preserve, uplift and strengthen human life and happiness. By education man's spiritual, intellectual, emotional and physical nature can be lifted from the savage to the saint, can poverty be abolished, can society be made fraternal instead of barbarous, can crime, the fruit of ignorance, be got ridden of, and international and social peace replace war and the strife of classes. Avidya is the mother of poverty, of sorrow, of misery, It is darkness which the Sun of Vidya must chase away.'

sees Sam. N., I. 81-83,

It is on account of this importance of education that the ancient Hindus laid so great a stress on the acquisition of all knowledge and specially Vedic learning. Bhartshari<sup>2611</sup> says that learning imbues a man with self-confidence and a winning personality: gives him reserve of power and resources, joy and hapiness in the exercise of these and fame and glory in the locality where he lives; and ensures him friendship and guidance when abroad. Kalhana 1612 says: "The tree of learning which is ever laughed at by fools, does indeed, not show roots, blossoms and the like but bears its fruits at the time of distress by removing a man's misfortunes at one stroke". In the Mahabharata 9618 we read: "Learning, bravery, skill, physical power and patience are the natural friends of a man (sahaja mitra). Through their help alone can one live happily". Sukrācharya2814 says: "Learning, valour, skill, powers and patience are the natural friends: wise men follow these". "Good learning always leads to human happiness". "The wealth of learning is superior. It grows with gifts, is not burdensome and cannot be carried away (i. e., stolen)". 3615 "The man who does not find pleasure in teaching, learning, preceptors, gods....... arts, music......and literature, is either a man who has attained salvation or a beast in the form of man". 2616 In Gautama Samhita 2617 we read: "Wealth, connections (rich friends) office, birth, deeds, knowledge and age are the factors which primarily add to the respectability of a person. But knowledge is the highest of them all, in as much as it is the source of health and virtues". Manu<sup>2618</sup> says: "wealth (honestly acquired), friends (relations), age, work and erudition (knowledge) which forms the fifth, these are the sources of honour, each succeeding one being more honourable than the one preceding (in the order of enumeration)". According to Vasistha Samhita<sup>2619</sup> "learning, wealth, age, relationship and occupation must be respected.

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Vidya bhogakarī yasassukhkarī vidyā guruņām guruņ Vidyā rājasu pūjitā na tu dhanam.—Nītišataka.

<sup>2612</sup> Räjstar. IV. 530 : Stein, I. pp. 170-71.

sete Sukranitisara, Ch. IV. Sec. I. lines 25-26.

<sup>2010</sup> Ibid., Ch. III. lines 360-61. Compare Ibid., lines 584-88.

<sup>2010</sup> Ibid., lines 493-96. 2017 Ch. VI. 2010 II. 186. 2010 Ch. XI.

But each preceding one is more venerable (than the succeeding one)". In the Mahābhāràta<sup>2620</sup> Aṣtabakra says: "Age, grey hairs, wealth, friends do not make a man old. He alone is designated by the ṛṣis as old and great who has mastered the Vedas and the Vedāngas". Manu<sup>2621</sup> says: "Neither by years (age) nor by grey hairs, neither by wealth nor by friends (relations) does one become great. The ṛṣis made a compact of yore that, 'he of us who will study the entire Veda with the allied branches of study will be called great'". "Grey hairs do not make an old man; a young man who has studied, the Devas designate him as really old". 2622

According to Katyayana Samhita there is no sacrifice superior to Brahmayajña. 2693 "Constant study of the Vedas" says Manu<sup>9624</sup> "brings to a man the remembrances of his past experiences (Jatismara)." "Remembrance of his past births makes him apathetic to the world and its concerns and lead him to attain Supreme Brahman, and eternal happiness (beautitudes). 2625 According to Yājñabālkva<sup>2626</sup> "the consideration of the meaning of Vedas and other scriptural works enables a man to acquire emancipation." Again "of sacrifices, asceticism and sacred rites, the Veda alone is more powerful in bringing emancipation unto the twice-born ones."2627 "Brahmins who study the Vedas and perform each day the religious sacrifices known as Pancha-yajna are the wielders of the three worlds and serve as the supports of men, who are addicted to the enjoyment of the five senses."2628 According to Yājñabālkya "a twice-born person who daily studies the Vedas, reaps the fruits of giving away thrice the earth full of riches (as well as those) of the best ascetic observances."2629 "The twice-born one, who studies the Vedas, becomes capable of (effectively) cursing or granting boon to other

<sup>2620</sup> Banaparba, 132nd adhyāya.

<sup>2621</sup> II. 154.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Manu, II. 156,

Brahmayajña means the study of the Vedas with their six auxiliaries (Dakşa Samhitā, II. 26).

<sup>9694</sup> IV. 148.

<sup>2628</sup> Mann IV. 149.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> III. 156-59.

sest Yājňabālkya I. 40,

<sup>\$5.00</sup> Parasara Samhita, VIII. 28.

<sup>2629</sup> I. 48.

Persons and lives in the regions with the rsis, after death."2636" Even a little study of the Vedas stand their twice-born reader in good stead both in this world and the next."2631 "By studying all the Vedas one is immediately freed from sorrow."2632 "As duly consecrated fires in cremation grounds consume the sins and impleties of the cremated, so the brahmanas, illumined with the light of knowledge, consume all sins and become like the gods."2633 "A learned Brahmin rescues the family by seven and seven (i. e., seven generations upwards and seven generations downwards)."2634 "Non-study of the Vedas," on the other hand, "extinguishes the prestige of a good family "2635 and "leads to the destruction of Brahmins."2636

"Hence the gift of learning is superior to all gifts." In the Mahābhārata ses Bhīşma speaks to Yudhişthir in the same strain: "If a man imparts instruction in the Vedas to a pupil, he is making a gift equal in merit to the gifts of the whole earth and of cow." "One who gives it (the Veda) with an end in view to a non-deceifful brāhmaṇa and to one's own kinsmen headed by the son, attains to the celestial region; and if disinterestedly, to emancipation." Kātyāyana 640 speaks in the same strain: "There is no gift superior to that of the Vedas (i. e., deliverance gratis of Vedic instructions)." According to Yājñabālkya 641 "the Veda is the highest gift; by giving it, one acquires the undecaying region of Brahmā."

So great was the importance of studies, specially Vedic learning that even householders, 2642 not merely bonafide students, were

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2500 Vyasa Samhita, I. 37.
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<sup>2681</sup> Ibid., I. 39.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Brhaspati Samhita, I. 79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>200</sup> Parāšara Samhitā VIII. 29; Manu XI. 246; Manu XI. 263; Manu XI. 264; Manu XII. 101; Atri Samhitā I. 133; Kātyāyana XIV. 14.

Brhaspati Samhitä, I. 61. 2555 Manu, III. 63.

Manu V. 4. For other passages extelling Vedic studies see Manu II. 107; XII. 102, 103; Yājňabālkya I. 41, 42, 43, 44, 45-46; III. 190. Kātyāyana XIV. 9-14; Mahābhārata, Sāntiparba 235th adhyāya; Ibid., Anušāsanaparba, 90th adhyāya.

acst Atri Samhita, I. 333.

<sup>2888</sup> Anusasanaparba, 69th Adhyaya.

acae Atri Samhita, I. 388.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> XIV. 18.

se41 I, 212

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Mahabharata, Santiparba, 191st adhyaya,

enjoined to cultivate them. Vyasa 1648 says: "The best of brahmana (householders) should study the Vedas, Itihasas and kindred branches of knowledge (Vedangas) and give instructions to his own pupils." "He (the householder) should then spend the sixth and seventh part of the day in the study of the Itihasas and the Puranas."2644 The Daksa Samhita 1645 mentions the study of the Veda as one of the nine duties which should be publicly done by a householder. Manu<sup>2646</sup> mentions the study of the Vedas and teaching the Vedas to pupils, as among the six duties of every brahmana (householder). According to Parasara Samhita2647 "a brahmana (householder) who daily performs the six religious duties (mentioned by Manu) never suffers any bad luck in life." Among the six duties enjoined upon a brahmana householder by Parasara 2648 the study of the Vedas is one. Manu<sup>2649</sup> says: "He (the twice-born householder) shall peruse each day, sastras whose perusal serves to improve the intellect as well as those which treat of the art of money-getting. Likewise he shall study the Nigamas which elucidate the true import of the Vedas." "Let him not omit performing rsi-yajña2650 according to the best of his might."2651 Vasistha2652 says: "(A house-holder) must be busy with reciting the Veda," Visnu<sup>2658</sup> says: "Let him (the householder) not renounce the study of the Vedas."2654

Even Vānaprasthins were enjoined to study the Vedas. <sup>2655</sup> Yajāabālkya <sup>2656</sup> says: "He (the vānaprasthin) should be given to Vedic studies." According to Sāṃkhya Saṃhitā <sup>2657</sup> "he should daily study the Vedas." "Let him (the vānaprasthin) be always devoted to the

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2040 III. 4. 2044 Dakşa Samhitā, II. 52. 2045 III. 8-14.
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<sup>2040</sup> X. 75.

<sup>2547</sup> I. 37.

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<sup>3648</sup> IV. 19.

The study of the Vedas is known as rai-yajaa (Manu III. 81), for by such study one can repay his debt to the rais who are the founders of his religion and culture; see ante, p. 16).

<sup>2651</sup> Manu IV. 20. 2652 Ch. VIII. 2655 XCIV. 6.

For passages of a similar import see Vyasa III. 9-10; Dakęa, II. 52, 54; Vadiştha Ch. VIII.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Mahabharata, Santiparba, 191st adhyaya.

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study of the Vedas."2658 Vasistha Samhita 2659 says: "Let one renounce all the religious rites but not (the recitation of) the Veda. By discarding the Veda one becomes a sudra and therefore one shall not renounce the Veda".

VIndeed, as we have already seen (ante, p. 181f.) knowledge, at least in the early period, was looked upon as the primary qualification for the recognition of a person as brahmana. Even in later times when Brahminhood came to depend upon birth, Vedic learning was looked upon as almost the compulsory duty of all brahmanas. Thus we are told: "the S'ruti and the S'mrti are the two eyes of the brahmanas created by God. If deprived of (the knowledge of) the one, a person is called one-eyed; and if of the two, blind". 2660 The same verse is repeated in Atri Samhita 2661: "The S'ruti and the Smrti are described as the two eyes of the bipras. One who is deficient in either of the two is described as one-eyed; and one who is deficient in the both, as stone-blind". According to Vasistha Samhita2662 "the brahmanas who neither study nor teach the Vedas, nor maintain the sacred fires, become of the conduct of sudras. Without studying the Rk, one does not become a brahmana. They quote a sloka from Manu on this subject: 'A twice-born person who not having studied the Veda, spends his labour on another (subject), soon falls, even while living, to the condition of a sudra and his descendants after him".

Hence even brahmanas when they were unlearned were looked down upon by society "A brahmana" says Vyāsa<sup>2665</sup> "who has not studied the Vedas, does, like a wooden elephant, or a leather-deer, but bear the name of the genus he belongs to." "Like a deserted hamlet, like a waterless well, a brahmana, who has not read the Vedas is a brahmana only is name." 2664 "An elephant made of wood, an antelope made of leather and a brahmana indisposed to the study of the Vedas—these three have nothing but the name." 2665

<sup>2050</sup> Manu VI. 8.

sees Harit Samhita, L. 25.

<sup>2000</sup> Ch. III.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Vyšes IV. 88,

<sup>2659</sup> Ch. X.

<sup>5551</sup> I. 344.

<sup>\$668</sup> TTT 97

Vatistha, Ch. HI.

Parziara \*666 says: "Like a waterless well, like a deserted hamlet. like a homa done without fire, meaningless is the life of a brahmana who is without any mantram." "Like a sexual intercourse by a eunuch. like seeds cast in a barren soil, like a meritless gift made to an ignorant person, meaningless is the life of a brahmana who has not studied the Rk verses." \$667 Manu<sup>2668</sup> speaks in the same strain: "As a cunuch is sexually fruitless in respect of a woman, as (sexually) useless is the meeting of two cows, as fruitless is the gift to an ignorant, so fruitless is the life a brahmana who has not studied the Rks." "A brahmana who has not studied the Vedas is like unto a rush fire that is soon extinguished."2669 Parāsara2670 further says: "A council consisting of thousands of persons, who are brahmanas only in name, should not be honoured with the dignity of a Parisad." Atrise71 says: "A bipra who does not know the true nature and being of Brahman but is always proud of his sacrificial thread is for that sin called a pasu." According to Kautilya<sup>2672</sup> the balls of meal offered to his ancestors by a person not learned in the Vedas are unfit to be eaten by wise men."

It was, therefore, laid down that gifts should not be made to unlearned Brahmins."2678 The wretch of a (blind) man who has no knowledge of the sruti and the smriti should not be given any present at a śraddha."2674 Manu says:2675 "To a brahmana who has not studied the Vedas; oblations must not be offered, as no one casts fire-offerings in the ashes." "As a sower by sowing seeds in an alkaline soil reaps no harvest, so a giver, by giving oblations to (i. e., feeding) a brahmana, ignorant of the Vedas (in connection with a śraddha) derives no benefit."2676 A virtuous man, therefore, must not make even an insignificant gift to a brahmana who is not read in the

<sup>8666</sup> VIII. 24.

<sup>2600</sup> II. 158.

<sup>\$870</sup> VIII. 22.

<sup>2472</sup> Arthafastra (R. Syamasastri's Eng. Trans.), 2678 Mahabharata, Anusasanaparba, p. 83.

<sup>2074</sup> Atri Samhita, I, 845.

sere Manu III. 142,

<sup>2007</sup> Parasara Samhita, VIII. 25.

<sup>2669</sup> Manu III. 168.

<sup>2671</sup> I. 372.

<sup>37</sup>th adhyava.

<sup>2678</sup> III. 168. Compare Manu III, 181; Kätyäyana, XV. 7.

Vedas." \* A gift should be made to an erudite person living at a distance in preference to an illiterate one living close by one's house. humiliating to an Nothing can be illiterate brahmana,"2676 Brhaspatis679 says: "If an ignorant person lives in one's own house and one vastly read in the sruti at a distance, presents should be made unto the one whe is master of the Veda. There is no sin in superseding the ignorant wight." Katyayana<sup>9680</sup> says: "There is no sin in superseding a brahmana who is divorced from Vedic learning. aside a burning fire, one should not offer oblations to ashes." Vyasa<sup>9681</sup> says: "By not making a gift to a brahmana, ignorant of the Vedas, one does not commit the sin of insulting a brahmana. Oblations are cast in the sacred fire, not in its ashes." "Tho cereals (food grains in one's store) begin to dance with pleasure on the arrival of a modest erudite brahmana at one's house, saying 'We shall come by a better fate.' "9682 "Grains of rice given to a Brahmin who has neglected the study of the Vedas begin to cry in dismay 'What evils have we committed to be punished with a such a degradation?" "2688 "Gifts made unto an illiterate brahmana, like seeds sown in a sandy soil or clarified butter kept in a pot of ashes or libations poured over burnt out cinders, prove abortive."2684 Atri2685 says: "Leaving aside learned brahmanas one should not make any gifts to any other persons. I have neither seen nor heard of any such course."

Harita<sup>2686</sup> goes further and says: "To make gifts and offer food unto a brahmana who is ignorant of the sruti and the smriti encompasses the destruction of one's family." "Like a man attempting to cross (a river) with the aid of a stone-raft, both the ignorant donor and acceptor of a gift are drowned." "2687" "By giving a well-gotton wealth

<sup>2677</sup> Manu IV. 192.

<sup>2578</sup> Vyāsa Samhitā, IV. 33.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> I. 60.

<sup>2650</sup> XV. 9.

<sup>2681</sup> IV. 85.

<sup>2682</sup> Vyāsa Samhitā, IV. 50.

Bhīşma says to Yudhişthir: "A Brahmin devoid of learning is a pankti-dişaka.

Food taken by him at a śrāddha is food taken by a rākṣasa."

asse Vyles IV. 69.

sees I. 336.

<sup>2484</sup> T. 94

<sup>8687</sup> Mann IV. 194.

to an illiterate brahmana, both the donor and the dones come to grief in the next world."2688 According to Manu<sup>2689</sup> "A brahmana ignorant of the Vedas, shall have to eat as many morsels of burning spear-heads, after death, as he eats of the śrāddha oblations to the manes deities, in life." "The life duration of an ignorant brahmana suffers, if he accepts a gift of gold or food grains; by accepting the gift of a land or a cow, he suffers in health; for accepting the gift of a horse, he is deprived of his sight, for accepting the gift of a cloth, his skin suffers, for accepting the gift of clarified butter, his energy and for accepting sesame his progeny are consumed."2690

In conformity with this attitude towards unlearned Brahmins it was laid down that learning could be acquired even from non-Brahmins when they are learned. Thus Manu<sup>9691</sup> says: "Women, gems, knowledge virtue, purity, good words (counsels) and the various kinds of art may be acquired from anywhere." "In times of distress, a brahmana student may take his lessons from a non-brahmana preceptor." \*\*\*\*\*\* Gautama<sup>2698</sup> speaks in the same strain: "In times of distress a brahmana may learn an art or a science from a non-brahmana teacher."

It is no wonder, therefore, that the people will be asked to show great respect to the learned. Kautilya2894 says: "Such persons as are noted for their learning, intelligince, bravery, high birth or magnificent deeds shall be honoured." Manu<sup>2695</sup> says: "Those brahmanas who are foremost (i. e., well-read) in all the Vedas and the Vedangas and whose well-conversant with the Vedas ancestors were Panktipavanas." Sukrāchārya<sup>2696</sup> describes learned men as ornaments in palaces, assemblies etc. The utterance of a Vedavid is sanctifying. 26 97 "Ridden in the chariot of scriptures and wielding the swords of the

sess Ibid.

<sup>2689</sup> III. 183.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> IV. 189.

<sup>96 91</sup> II. 240.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Manu II. 241.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Ch. VII.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Arthafistra (R. Syāmafāstri's Eng. Trans.), p. 252.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> III. 184. Compare Manu III. 185, 186; Katyayana, XIV. 14; Gautama, Ch. XV.

sess Sakranītisāra, Ch. IV. Sec. VII. lines 638-45.

acce Atri Samhitt, L. 14.

Vedas in their hands, brahmanas whatever they may speak even in fun is highly obligatory." That religion is to be known as the highest which a leading brahmana, knowing the Veda follows—but not that which is followed by ten thousand illiterate persons. 2699

One who daily studies the Vedas is an apurva atithi. 9700 One should bid farewell to a śrotriya guest by following him a little beyond the compound of one's own house. 2701 "A king or a snataka, happening to call at his house, even within a year (of his last visit) on the occasion of a sacrificial ceremony, the householder shall welcome in the method of Madhuparkam and not otherwise." 2702 "Let him not wilfully leap over the shadow of his king or preceptor nor that of a divine image, nor that of a cow nor that of a snataka."2708 According to Yama Samhita 2704 "one should give way to a wheelman, to an old man, to a bride, to a snataka, to a king and to one of tender years who should be protected." Manu<sup>2705</sup> says: "On the road one must give way to a carter, to a man of more than ninety years of age, to a sick folk, to a carrier of weights, to a woman, to a snataka, to the king and to a bridegroom." "When all these meet together (on the road), greatest preference should be shown to the king and the snataka. Of a king and a sustaka the first shall give way (show respect) to the last."2706 Yājnabālkya2707 says: "An aged burden-carrier, a king, a snataka, a woman, a diseased person, a bridegroom and a cart-man should (always) be given road; a king is adorable unto them all; but a snataka (even) to the king." Visnus 708 says: "One must make way for an aged man, for one carrying a load, for a king, for a snataka, for a sick person, for a woman, for a bridegroom and for a carter. All of these persons (meeting together) must make way for a king: and even a king must make way for a snataka." Vasistha 2709 says:

<sup>2608</sup> Parasara Samhita, VIII. 33.

<sup>9700</sup> Parasara I. 43.

<sup>9709</sup> Manu III. 120.

<sup>2704</sup> Ch. VI.

<sup>2700</sup> Manu II. 139.

<sup>6706</sup> LXIII. 50-51.

<sup>2000</sup> Atri Samhita, I. 142.

<sup>9701</sup> Vyāsa III. 43.

<sup>9708</sup> Ibid., IV. 130.

<sup>2705</sup> II. 138.

<sup>9707</sup> T. 117.

<sup>2709</sup> Ch. XI. Compare Mahäbhärata, Banaparba, 132nd adhyäya,

"If one meets aged men, infants, sick-men, load-carriers and persons riding on wheels, he must give way to each of the latter. If a king and a snataka meet, the king must make way for the snataka." The following śloka of Chanakya has become a common saying in India:

"Swadeśe pūjyate raja vidwan sarbatra pūjyate"

"A king is respected in his own kingdom while a learned man is worshipped everywhere."

The sastrakaras go even so far as to lay down that the very sight of a learned man is sacred. Thus Parasara Samhita<sup>2710</sup> says: "Holy is the sight of a brahmana well-versed in the Vedas, hence one should try to see him, every day." Katyayana Samhita<sup>2711</sup> says: "He, who rising up in the morning, sees a śrotriya (one learned in the fruti) becomes freed from all calamities."

It is no wonder, therefore, that gifts to a learned man would be looked upon as the highest gift.<sup>2712</sup> "Eternal is the gift that is made unto a person who is well-read in the Vedas......who studies the Vedas and has acquired knowledge."<sup>2713</sup> "The fruit of a gift is endless (when it is made unto) one who has mastered the Vedas."<sup>2714</sup> Parāśara<sup>2715</sup> says: "A gift made to a brāhmaṇa well-versed in the Vedas, tends to increase the longevity of its giver.

The society not only honoured its learned but also granted them special privileges. "If the king comes by any hidden treasure, he must give half of it to a brāhmaṇa. But (when) a learned Brahmin (happens to find out any) the (whole treasure) should go to him, for, he is the lord of all," Manu<sup>2716</sup> Manu<sup>2717</sup> says: "In the absence of a

<sup>9710</sup> XIL 41. 9711 XIX. 9.

The Psychological basis of gifts has been thus described by Kalhana: The gathering of the clouds pleases the peacocks though it spreads darkness, while the wild goose is pleased by the breaking up of the clouds which brings clearness. From the mutual regard which the giver and recipient (of a gift) show for each other, there appears in the highest degree a resemblance of tastes." (Rajatarangini, I. 308; Stein, Vol. I. p. 46).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3718</sup> Bihaspati Samhitä, I. 56. <sup>3714</sup> Daksa Samhitä, III. 26.

<sup>2718</sup> XII. 45. Compare Manu XI. 1-2. 2716 Yājňabālkya, II. 35.

<sup>1717</sup> IX. 187-88.

samanodaka, his preceptor, and in the absence of a preceptor, his disciple (shall inherit one's property). In the absence of all kinds of relations, brahmanas, well-versed in the three Vedas, pure, with their senses fully controlled, shall take (the) estates, whereby virtue will Kautilya<sup>2718</sup> says: "Property for which no not be impaired." claimant is found shall go to the king but not that of a brahmana learned in the Vedas. That (the property of the learned) shall be made over to those who are well-versed in the three Vedas." "Men learned in the Vedas, persons engaged in penance as well as labourers may take with them salt for food; salt and alkalies for purposes other than this, shall be subject to the payment of toll." Men learned in the Vedas may take from the fields ripe flowers and fruits for the purpose of worshipping their gods and rice and barley for the purpose of performing agrayana, a sacrificial performance at the commencement of harvest seasons."2720 "Again, he alone is qualified to enter upon the life of a Yati who has studied the Vedas."2721 He who maintains the sacred fire and studies the Vedas is purified in one day (of the impurity arising from birth or death).2722 A Vahu-śruta, even if he has committed any delinquency, should not be punished, condemned or banished by the king from his native country,"2728

The students also enjoyed certain privileges. Thus, they are exempted from paying ferry-tolls. According to Kautilya 1735 "commodities intended for the investiture of the sacred thread shall be let off free of toll". According to Visnu Samhitā 2736 "in case where by speaking truth a student is killed, a witness may speak untruth". A person holding an uninterrupted and continuous possession of property in the face of its owner, other than an infant or an idiot, shall acquire proprietary right therein. But such a continuous possession of a property owned by a śrotriya, king or an itinerant brahmachārin or by a

9794 Manu VIII. 407.

<sup>2718</sup> Arthasastra (R. Syamasastri's Eng. Trans.), p. 205.

<sup>2719</sup> Ibid., p. 99.

<sup>2720</sup> Ibid., p. 146.

avaz Yajñabalkya III. 57.

<sup>2722</sup> Daksa Samhita, VI. 6.

Samhitā, I. 133; also Ibid., I. 113,

avas Arthasastra (R. Syamasastri's Eng. 2vas VIII. 15. Trans.), p. 187.

person of renowned virtues would not give rise to any title thereto in favour of the possessor". 1727 Again, "a student does not infringe the rules of his order by carrying away, when dead, his teacher or his sub-teacher or his father or his mother or his guru". 2726 On the death of one's fellow-student of the Vedas in the same house, the period of uncleanliness is three days; on the death of one's disciple he shall remain impure for two days and the night between them (pakṣini). 9799 According to Atri Samhita 1780 a brahmacharin (student) becomes immediately purified. According to Manu<sup>2731</sup> students are never affected by death or birth-uncleanliness in as much as they are the representatives of Brahma (on earth)".

It is no less interesting to find that in the selection of bridegrooms and government officers, the education of the persons concerned was taken into consideration. In the Mahabharata<sup>2782</sup> Visma says to Yudhisthir: "If the guardian of the bride gives her in marriage to a bridegroom after making a satisfactory enquiry about the latter's learning, family-prestige and occupation, then it is called Brahma marriage. Such a marriage is the most commendable form of marriage for Brahmins". S'ukrāchārya<sup>2788</sup> says: "One may give his daughter even to a penniless man who possesses (proper) qualifications of age, learning, and beauty and should not judge a bridegroom by his beauty, age and wealth." He says further: "One should first examine the family, then learning, then age, then character, then wealth, then form and lastly the country of birth; marriage is to be entered into afterwards". 9734 Among the qualifications of an ideal bridegroom Yajñabalkya<sup>2785</sup> refers to his being "well-read in the Vedas." According to Yajñabalkya<sup>2786</sup> the Royal High priest must posses among others the qualification of being "well-grounded in the sastras" and "well-versed in the theory of Polity." According to Kautilya 2787 the Royal

2728 Visnu Samhita, XXII, 85.

2789 Anusisanaparba, 44th adhyaya.

9780 I. 97.

<sup>2727</sup> Gautama Samhita, Ch. XII.

<sup>9799</sup> Manu V. 81. 9781 V. 93.

Sukranitisara, Ch. III. lines 344-45. 2784 Ibid., lines 346-47.

<sup>978</sup> I. 313.

aver Arthafastra (R. Syamefastri's Eng. Trans.), p. 17.

High-priest ought to possess among others the qualification of being "well educated in the Vedas and the six Angas" and "well versed in the science of government." According to Kamandaka 1788 the Royal High-priest should be well-versed in Trayi and Dandaniti. According to S'ukrāchārya<sup>9789</sup> one who is versed in mantras and rituals, master of the three sciences (Trayi)......equipped with a knowledge of the six angas and of the science of archery with all its branches, one who knows the science of morals as well as religious interests and master of military implements and tactics is the priest (of the king)." Thus not a mere knowledge of the technique of sacrificial rites and ceremonies but a sound liberal education is expected of him. In the Mahabharata 2740 Bhisma says to Yudhişthir that a minister must be well-versed in the sastras, in military science and in niti. Again, "he must be well-educated (susiksita), well-versed in tri-barga, in diplomacy, in the art of constructing phalanx and skilled in piercing through the enemy's ranks and in training and fighting on elephants."2741 According to Manu<sup>2742</sup> a minister must be "conversant with the prices of lands, well-versed in the śastras, with unmissing aims in archery or in the use of arms. According to Kamandaka a minister must be "endowed with the knowledge of the śastras "2743 and "proficient in śilpavidyā."2744 As a matter of fact we find that eminent men of learning with a deep and specialised knowledge of a particular science or art together with a general knowledge of a few other sciences were appointed as ministers. Thus Kautilya was the minister of Chandragupta Maurya. In Parāsara Samhitā<sup>2748</sup> we are told of many similarly qualified ministers: "just as the religious guide Madhava was the mantrin of king Bukkana, so was Brhaspati to Indra, Sumati to Nala, Medhatithi to S'aibya, Dhaumya to Yudhisthir, Svaujas to Prthu, Vasistha to Rama". While enumerating the qualifications which one must possess before

arsa Nitisara, 4th sarga, sl. 32.

<sup>9740</sup> Santiparba, 84th adhyaya.

<sup>9749</sup> VII. 54.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 41. 80.

<sup>9789</sup> Sukranitisara, Ch. II. lines 156-60.

aves Ibid., 117th adhyaya.

<sup>1748</sup> Nitisara, 4th sarga, 41. 25.

<sup>1745</sup> Bombsy edition, p. 8.

he can be thought fit for councillorship S'ukracharya \*746 says that he must be "versed in the arts of politics". According to S'ukrāchārya 2747 a brahmana judge must be "well-versed in the Vedas". brahmana be not learned enough, the king should appoint a kshatriya or a vaisya who is versed in the Dharmasastras.'.2748 That human affairs being very complex, cannot be investigated by a judge versed in a single science was realised by S'ukra who says: "The man who has studied only one sastra cannot investigate a case properly. So in all cases, the king should appoint men who know good many sastras". 2749 Similarly, a ministerial officer (amatya-sampat) must possess among others the qualification of being "well-trained in arts.2750 According to Kamandaka<sup>2751</sup> those who besides other qualifications are endowed with learning (vidya) and proficient in śastra, artha and vyabahāra are fit for royal service. Even the courtiers should be proficient in the Vedas and conversant with the laws of morality (Yajñabalkya, II. 2). According to Kautilya<sup>2752</sup> an ambassador must possess among others the qualification of being "well-trained in arts". According to Manu<sup>\$753</sup> he must be "well-versed in all the sastras". According to Kāmandaka an ambassador must be "proficient in the śāstras"2754 and "conversant with mantra-śastra". 1755 The Superintendents of Government departments must also possess among others the qualification of being "well-trained in arts". 2756 In conformity with these regulations it was laid down that the king should 'increase the subsistence and wages of his servants in consideration of their learning and work'. 2757

Intellectual proficiency in legal and religious literature was also looked upon as one of the qualifications for every aspirant after a position in the general assembly of some of the South Indian villages.

<sup>3746</sup> Sukranitieära, Ch. II. lines 333-36. 3747 Jbid., Ch. IV. Sec. V. lines 23-26.

<sup>\*\*4\*</sup> Ibid., lines 27-28,

<sup>2740</sup> Ibid., lines 65-66.

<sup>2750</sup> Arthasastra (R. Syamasastri's Eng. Trans.), p. 16.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Nitisara, 5th sarga, \*ls. 13-14; Ibid., \*1. 67.

avaa Arthadistra (R. Sjämasästri's Eng. Trans.), p. 34.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> VII. 63. 9756 Nitisara, 13th sarga, \$1. 2.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Ibid., 41. 1.

<sup>8756</sup> Kautilya's Arthafastra (R. Syamafastri's at av Ibid., p. 309. Eng. Trans.), p. 77.

Thus the inscription at Manur<sup>2,752</sup> in the Tinnevelly district dated in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Mārañjadaiyan (i. e., about the nineth century A. D.) lays down that "of the children of the share-holders in the village only one who is well-behaved and has studied the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa and one Dharma (i. e., code of law) may be on the village assembly to represent the share held by him in the village". Similarly the two Inscriptions in the Vaikuntha—Perumal temple at Uttarmallūr, assigned to the tenth century A. D. lay down that a member to be eligible for nomination by his ward "must know the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa" and "if owns only ith of land [the property qualification amounted to a quarter (veli) of tax-paying land] he must be proficient in one Veda and in one of the four Vāṣyas by explaining (it to others)".

<sup>9750</sup> Madras Ep. Report, 1906-07, No. 423 of 1906.

## CHAPTER XV.

CONCLUSION: EFFECTS OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.

It is difficult for us to determine at this distance of time what were the effects of this emphasis on knowledge and learning in Ancient India. It is no less difficult to realise the position and achievements of the educational institutions of old. The long centuries through which they have held sway show that they must have possessed elements of value and strength and that they were not unsuited to the needs of those who developed and adopted them. But the early educational system which made great contributions to the science of grammar and philosophy and other subjects became in course of time stereotyped and formal, unable to meet the needs of a progressive civilisation. For, as in society, so in education it was in the ideals of the past which ever governed its development. The duty of the teacher was to pass on as nearly as he himself has received it, the mass of tradition which had been handed down from past ages. Thus in grammar, after the great work of Pānini and Patanjali the science became fixed and though an enormous number of works on grammar have been written in India since, it was always recognised that these ancient authorities must not be departed from. Education also became stereotyped and the same methods which were followed hundreds of years before the Christian era continued with little change down to modern times.

Moreover, while on the one hand, the underlying philosophic thought tended towards a spirit of other-worldliness and to education being conceived as a preparation for what lay beyond the life, on the other hand, the idea of each man being born to perform certain functions in life according to his caste tended towards a narrow vocationalism and those specially who were shut out from the study of the Vedas and the higher philosophical thought received little direct religious education, save through the performance of certain religious rites, so that their training was confined to the acquisition of those subjects or

Abdullah quotes the following judgment of Bedi-ezr Zeman: "The Indians are innumerable like grains of sand, free from deceit and violence. They fear neither death nor life". 2765 Marco Polo (thirteenth century) says: "You must know that these Brahmins are the best merchants in the world and the most truthful, for, they would not tell a lie for anything on earth. If a foreign merchant who does not know the ways of the country applies to them and entrusts his goods to them. they will take charge of these, and sell them in the most loyal manner, seeking zealously the profit of the foreigner and asking no commission except what he pleases to bestow". 2766 The picture depicted by these accounts may be a bit overdrawn but making a due allowance for exaggeration, it is true to a great degree. As Professor Max Muller 3767 says: "There must surely be some ground for this, for, it is not a remark that is frequently made by travellers in foreign countries even in our time, that their inhabitants speak the truth. Read the accounts of English travellers in France and you will find very little said about French honesty and veracity, while French accounts of England are seldom without fling at Perfide Albion!".

The national character of a people necessarily suffers from the unsympathetic domination of an alien people. Successful falsehood says Bentham is the best defence of a slave; and it is no wonder that the character of the Hindus deteriorated under Moslem and British rule. The wonder is, their character is still so high. Professor Max Muller 3768 says: "I can only say that after reading the accounts of the terrors and horrors of Muhammadan rule, my wonder is that so much of native virtue and truthfulness should have survived". For. even under Moslem rule we constantly hear of brave deeds specially of the Rajputs and the Maharattas. Name a few heroes like Pratap, Durgā Dās, Jaswant, Hamir, Raj Singh, Maun, Prthwiraja and Sivajī and a volume is said. The rest

> "Were long to tell; how many battles fought, How many kings destroyed and kingdoms won ".

> > 27 \*\* Ibid., p. 72,

aves Max Muller-India: What Can it Teach us?, p. 275.

aves G. B. Parks-Marco Polo, p. 285; Yule-Marco Polo, Vol. II. p. 350. aver India: What Can it Teach us P, p. 57.

Sir Thomas Munro when asked if he thought the civilisation of the Hindus would be promoted by trade with England being thrown open, replied: "I do not exactly understand what is meant by the unrivalled manufacturing skill, a capacity to produce whatever can contribute to luxury or convenience, schools \$769 established in every village for teaching reading, writing and arithmetic, the practice of hospitality and charity amongst one another and, above all. a treatment of the female sex, full of confidence, respect and delicacy. are among the signs which denote a civilised people, then the Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe and if civilisation is to become an article of trade between the two countries. I am convinced that this country (England) will gain by the import cargo". Thus according to the standards both of the East and of the West the character of the Indians was high and honourable. This was undoubtedly the result of the grand system of education which they had evolved, a system which produced the most comprehensive literature and the best type of men.

Indeed the very visits of the Chinese pilgrims and Arab scholars are a testimony to the educational progress and moral greatness achieved by India. It was not on a pleasure-trip upon which they came out to India. They came on a sacred mission as a seeker after the saving knowledge, of which India had then the monopoly in the whole of Asia. No amount of dangers and difficulties presented by nature and man alike in the course of their travel in those days of difficulties of means of communication could damp the ardour and enthusiasm of so many foreign scholars for learning Indian arts and sciences. Indeed from the time of Kaniska to that of Dharmapala of Bengal, during the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2769</sup> "In Bengal there existed 80,000 native schools, though doubtless for the most part of a poor quality. According to a Government Report of 1835 there was a village school for every four hundred persons"—Missionary Intelligencer, IX. pp. 183-98.

Sir Thomas Munro estimated the children educated at public schools in the Madras Presidency as less than one in three—Elphinstone's History of India, p. 205.

period of well nigh ten centuries, there had been a steady stream of Chinese students towards India, towards her many seats of learning. where they could drink at the very fountains of the wisdom which they sought. (From the time of the Arab conquest of Sind there India from the Muhammadan kingdoms of Western come into Asia streams of Arab and Persian scholars like Barzouhyah. 2770 Almuwaffak 2771 and others to acquire proficiency in the Indian sciences. specially Medicine, 2772 Astronomy 2773 and Music. 2774) Their pilgrimage to the Indian seats of learning is only a tribute paid by China, Arabia and Persia to the sovereignty of Indian thought, whose influence extended beyond the geographical boundaries of India to many foreign countries and thus built up a Greater India beyond her northern mountains and southern seas. Thus her educational system, internally made her fit for a free and full self-expression while externally she was enabled to impress her thought effectively upon her neighbours who turned to her as the home of the highest learning and culture in those days.

<sup>2770</sup> P. C. Roy-History of Hindu Chemistry, Vol. I. Introduction, p. 76.

Stva Sachau's Alberuni, Preface, p. XXXII.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 255; Mill's History of India, Vol.IL p. 107.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 272.

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